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C. M.

MARRIAGE SONGS FROM BHOJPURI REGION

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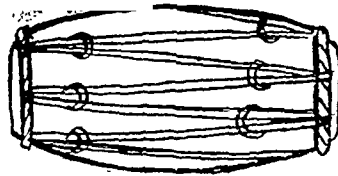
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FOREWORD

Bhojpuri has quite an abundant wealth of folk-songs. Only a very small portion of this underground treasure has seen the light of press so far. It is thus a great pleasure that Mrs. Chandramani is presenting this English translation of some of the loveliest of them all. These songs portray a lively picture of the natural hopes and aspirations tugging at the simple hearts of our common-folk; a picture which Kalidas would call "artlessly beautiful". They give expression to the innermost feelings of simple hearts; feelings which don't have to borrow their charm and grace from outside. "Artlessly beautiful" they are, in the real sense.

Differences between the city populace and the village folks were of course recognised in our country since early days, but the thinkers, seers and masters whose guidance was accepted in this country were no city-dwellers. In fact, our saints and sages kept their sanctums of learning and worship scrupulously away from the cities. The village people continuously received a smattering of higher knowledge through Puranic tales, songs and dances. The very same cultural ideals provided inspiration to the cily gentry. It is therefore that rural or urban distinctions cannot be applied to our culture, which remains indivisible on the count of location. There was one culture and its exponents and leaders were the same. The flow of culture was not from cities to villages, but rather the other way round.

Prosperous cities grew in number just before the advent of the Christian era, and with them arose all problems between cities and villages. Largely, the city people consumed what the villagers produced. Kings, their top-brass of bureaucracy and the moneyed class preferred cities, while agriculturists and other agro-based artisans chose villages to live in. Ambitious artists, poets, musicians, painters and craftsmen were constantly drawn towards the cities in quest of patronage for their art from the king or the indulgent rich. Here they had to devote themselves extensively to practising and improving their expertise, for the royal courts were always holding competitions. Villages held fewer competitions, offered poorer rewards and provided scant opportunity for artistic development. Arts and learning therefore baptised our cities first. Books of a high intellectual and critical order were produced in cities. The people of the vIllages had neither the time nor the need for such indulgences. Exhausted after the day's work, the village-folk also relieved itself by singing and dancing. But these rural entertainments were more crude and direct on the one hand, and lacked finishing on the other. The time came when the professional artists of the city considered rural entertainments clumsy and crude and their sophisticated urban arts looked unintelligible to the villagers. The gulf between cities and villages kept widening. Even emmigrant artists from the rural areas who had polished and practised in the cities, found their own villages dull. Poet Bihari once lamented "all pride of talent is gone, thanks to the life in this rustic village"* Urban sophistry became incompatible with rural life. The gulf became an ocean.

However, the extollers of India's culture did not start from the cities to reach its villages, but from villages to the cities. Rural and urban differences swelled during the Muslim rule. But the Indian culture, even during those days, was conserved by un-lettered rural saints. They were the people's own men, born, brought up and grown amongst the people. They were the real bridgers of the rural and urban differences. The impact of their wisdom and character was felt by the entire public. Rurality never limited their learning, even as an exception, and the illuminating rays of their knowledge lit even the city elites.

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* गयो गरव गुन को सवै वसे गँवारे गाँव

Our modern times are witnessing a greater widening of rural and urban differences. Scientific appliances have stirred the otherwise peaceful life of our villages. Thinking is growing ever stronger that the entire social structure has to be built again. Rural life can no longer be kept divorced from its urban counterpart now. So also the discontent that will be generated by this contact with the better provided city gentry, can hardly be checked. Rural regeneration is not only a matter of conscience for our urban leaders, it has become a must for their very existence. Rural upliftment has come to mean extensive industrialisation, opening of more schools and colleges and the provision of more scientific equipments. These are deemed to open the doors to rural prosperity. Sugges tions of a different category than these are not forthcoming. Some of them may appear different, but their [illegible] lies only in outer form or tempo. It is evident that these reforms will continue to absorb the attention of the Centra and State governments.

In such circumstances, it would be futile to hope that our folk-literature and folk-arts and crafts will be abl to retain their unmixed purity. That our folk-life is being corrupted by modern influences is clearly indicated [illegible] now. But it is not a matter of any grave concern. Life is susceptible to influences. So why worry ? How is possible that, when standards of human thought and behaviour are changing throughout the world, our villages [illegible] remain untampered. Fusion there will be, new means of entertainment will come up and grow, and a new so[illegible] order will be conceived too. It is not this, but something else, which causes concern.

The danger is increasing that some of the most touching expressions of our folk-life may be irretrievably l[illegible] in our massive efforts for modernisation. Therefore these precious songs should carefully be compiled and p[illegible] Those engaged in such compilation work are often perturbed when they find that cheap film ditties are [illegible] these "artlessly beautiful" songs. Some of our old traditional songs are in danger of being lost in oblivion. It [illegible] become essential to conserve them now.

Mrs. Chandramani has rendered yeomen service by compiling and translating these touching songs. heartily welcome her wonderful effort and hope that all connoisseurs would do so.

— **Hazari Prasad** [illegible]

आमुख

भोजपुरी में लोक-गीतों का बहुत ही समृद्ध साहित्य है। इसका बहुत थोड़ा अंश ही अब तक प्रकाशित हो पाया है अत्यन्त प्रसन्नता की बात है कि चन्द्रमणि बहन कुछ अत्यन्त मार्मिक लोक-गीतों का यह अंग्रेजी अनुवाद प्रकाशित कर रही हैं इन गीतों में लोक-मानस की उन मार्मिक आशाओं और आकांक्षाओं का जीवन्त चित्र है जिसे कालिदास के शब्दों में 'अव्या मनोहरम्' कहा जा सकता है। ये सरल हृदय की गहराई से निकले हुए ऐसे भावों को अभिव्यक्ति देते हैं जो अपनी शोभा अ गरिमा के लिए किसी बाहरी साज-सज्जा के मोहताज नहीं हैं। सही अर्थों में 'अव्याज मनोहरम्' हैं।

यद्यपि इस देश में बहुत प्राचीन काल से ही पौर और जनपद जनों का अन्तर स्वीकार कर लिया गया था, पर [illegible] विचारकों, ऋषियों और आचार्यों को यह देश अपना मार्गदर्शक मानता आया है, वे नगरों के निवासी नहीं थे। यहाँ के स आचार्यों और संतों ने अपनी साधना-भूमि नगरों से बाहर बनाई थी। कथा-पुराण और गीत-नृत्यों के द्वारा जनपदों के [illegible] निरंतर उच्चतर ज्ञान प्राप्त करते रहते थे। नगरों के निवासी भी इन्हीं सांस्कृतिक आदर्शों से प्रेरणा पाते थे। इस प्रकार [illegible] केवल नगर और ग्राम के भेद से नागरिक और लोक-संस्कृति को भिन्न-भिन्न नहीं समझा जा सकता। संस्कृति एक ही थी, उ[illegible] उन्नायक आचार्य एक ही थे, संस्कृति नगरों से छन-छन कर ग्रामों में नहीं पहुँचती थी, बल्कि ग्रामों से नगरों की ओर जाती [illegible]

ईसवी सन् के कुछ पूर्व से ही समृद्ध नगरियों की संख्या बढ़ने लगी थी और ग्रामों के साथ उनका व्यवधान भी व[illegible] लगा था। साधारणतः नगरों में रहने वाले लोग भोक्ता वर्ग के थे और ग्रामों में रहने वाले लोग उत्पादक वर्ग के। [illegible] राजाओं, राजपुरुषों और श्रेष्ठियों के आवास थे, गांव कृषिजीवी लोगों और उनके सहायकों की वासभूमि थे। राजाओं श्रेष्ठियों का आश्रय पाने के लिए बड़े-बड़े कलावंत-कवि, गायक, चित्रकार, शिल्पी आदि नगरों की ओर जाते थे। इन्हें अ[illegible] सारे समय को विभिन्न कलाओं को और भी निखारने और माँजने में लगाना पड़ता था। राज-दरबार प्रतिद्वन्द्वियों से भरे [illegible]

थे। गाँवों में इतनी प्रतिद्वन्दिता भी नहीं होती थी, अच्छा पुरस्कार भी नहीं मिलता था और कला को मांज-घिसकर निखारने का अवसर भी कम मिलता था। इसीलिए शहरों में कलाओं और विद्याओं के संस्कार हुए। सूक्ष्म बौद्धिक विवेचना वाले ग्रंथ लिखे गये। गाँव की जनता को न इतना समय था और न इतनी जरूरत। दिन भर काम-काज करने के बाद अपने मन-बहलाव के लिए वह भी नृत्य, गीत आदि का आयोजन करती थी। पर ये आयोजन जहाँ अधिक सहज और अधिक प्रत्यक्ष होते थे वहीं और अधिक अमार्जित भी रह जाते थे। एक ऐसा भी समय आया जब शहर के वृत्तिजीवी कलावंतों को यह गँवारू मनोरंजन भोंड़े लगने लगे और गाँव के लोगों को वह विद्योपित कला-गुण दुर्बोध। गाँव और शहर का व्यवधान धीरे-धीरे बढ़ता गया। गाँव के जो लोग शहरी दरबारों में जाकर अपनी विद्या माँज-घिस लेते थे वे भी गाँवों से ऊबने लगते थे। बिहारी कवि ने एक बार पछताकर कहा था कि 'गयो गरब गुन को सबै बसे गँवारे गाँव'। शहरी गुणों का गर्व, गाँव में रहना संभव ही नहीं था। यह व्यवधान बढ़ता ही गया।

परन्तु फिर भी भारतवर्ष की संस्कृति के उन्नायक, शहरों से चलकर गाँव की ओर नहीं आये बल्कि गाँव से चलकर शहरों की ओर गये हैं। मुसलमानी शासन काल में गाँव और शहर का अन्तर काफी बढ़ गया था। परन्तु भारतीय संस्कृति को उस समय भी निरक्षर संतों का नेतृत्व मिल गया था। वे जनता के अपने आदमी थे, उन्हीं में जन्मे हुए, उन्हीं में पले हुए और उन्हीं में बढ़े हुए। वे सच्चे अर्थों में नगर और गाँव के व्यवधान के मिलन-सेतु थे। उन्होंने अपने सहज ज्ञान और चरित्रबल से समूची जनता को प्रभावित किया था। ऐसा कभी नहीं हुआ कि उनका ज्ञान गाँवों तक ही सीमित रह गया हो। वह शहर के गण्यमान्य लोगों को भी प्रभावित करता रहा।

आधुनिक युग में यह व्यवधान और भी बढ़ने लगा है। वैज्ञानिक साधनों ने गाँवों के स्थिर और शान्त जीवन में भी हलचल उत्पन्न कर दी है। अब सारी समाज व्यवस्था को नये सिरे से ढालने का विचार प्रबल से प्रबलतर होता जा रहा है। गाँवों को अब शहरी जीवन से असंपृक्त नहीं रखा जा सकता और नवीन सुविधा-सम्पन्न जन-मंडली के संपर्क में आने से उनके भीतर जो असन्तोष उत्पन्न होगा उसे रोका भी नहीं जा सकता। ग्राम-सुधार का हर कार्य अब शहरी नेताओं की कर्तव्य-बुद्धि का विषय नहीं रह गया है, उनके अस्तित्व के लिए ही आवश्यक हो गया है। सुधार का अर्थ है कि अधिक व्यवसाय और उद्योगों का प्रवर्तन, अधिक स्कूल-कॉलेजों का खोलना, अधिक वैज्ञानिक सुविधाओं की आयोजना। इन्हीं बातों को जनपदीय जनता के मंगल का द्वार समझा जा रहा है। अभी तक इससे भिन्न श्रेणी के सुझाव देखने को नहीं मिले। जो सुझाव थोड़ी भिन्न श्रेणी के लगते हैं उनके बाह्य रूप में और गति की मात्रा में ही अन्तर है। ऐसा लग रहा है कि इन सुधारों की ओर जनता और राज्य का ध्यान आगे भी केन्द्रित होता जायेगा।

ऐसी परिस्थिति में ग्रामीण साहित्य, कला और शिल्प के अविमिश्र शुद्ध रूप के बचे रहने की आशा करना व्यर्थ है। अभी से इस बात के लक्षण प्रगट होने लगे हैं कि लोक-जीवन पर आधुनिकता के प्रभाव पड़ते जा रहे हैं। यह चिन्ता की बात नहीं है। जहाँ जीवन होगा वहाँ प्रभाव भी पड़ेगा। उससे घबराना बेकार है। यह कैसे संभव है कि सारे संसार में मानवीय आचारों और विचारों के मूल्य में परिवर्तन होता रहेगा और हमारे गाँव उससे एकदम असंपृक्त रहें! मिश्रण भी होगा नवीन विनोद-साधनों का प्रचार भी बढ़ेगा और नई समाज-व्यवस्था का आयोजन भी होगा। चिन्ता की बात यह नहीं है, दूसरी है।

आधुनिक प्रयासों के दबाव से लोक-जीवन के अत्यन्त मर्मस्पर्शी अभिव्यक्तियों के लुप्त हो जाने का खतरा बढ़ गया है। इन बहुमूल्य गीतों का अगर सावधानी से संकलन नहीं किया गया तो उनके एकदम नष्ट हो जाने की भी आशंका है। जो लोग इन बहुमूल्य गीतों का संग्रह कर रहे हैं वे प्रायः यह देखकर चिंतित होते हैं कि गाँवों के मनोरंजन-साधनों में सिनेमा के घटिया किस्म के गान 'अव्याज-मनोहर' मर्मस्पर्शी वाणियों का स्थान लेने लगे हैं। बहुत से पुराने परम्परा प्रचलित गीतों के लुप्त हो जाने की आशंका बढ़ती जा रही है। इन गीतों को सुरक्षित रखना अब बहुत आवश्यक हो गया है।

चन्द्रमणि बहिन ने इन मार्मिक रचनाओं का संकलन करके और इनका अंग्रेजी अनुवाद करके लोक-गीतों को सुरक्षित रखने की दिशा में महत्वपूर्ण कार्य किया है। उनके इस उत्तम प्रयास का मैं हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ। मुझे आशा है कि सभी सहृदय इस प्रयत्न का स्वागत करेंगे।

(हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी)

काशी :
4–9–78

Prologue

Bhojpuri songs have impressed me from my early childhood. Later, I got interested in folk-lore in general but Bhojpuri songs were the first to attract my attention, because many of my family members spoke that language and I was growing up in a Bhojpuri-speaking area. About thirty years back— I do not remember the exact year— a marriage took place in my village, in a family closely related to ours. My grand-mother was invited to attend this marriage and being the eldest female member of the clan in that village, was supposed to sing morning and evening songs, as invitation to the gods. I was then six or seven years old and very lively, as all children are at that age; clinging to my grand-mother, I used to go and listen to these songs. The women sang five songs in the morning and five in the evening, many composed in praise of natural powers and of ancestors, and then a number dedicated to Lord Shiva and to the Goddess Kali. After this a group of young girls sang marriage songs and in the end there was *Jhumar*–a circle dance.

At that time, I was struck simply by the songs' melodious character, not then understanding the deeper meaning imbedded in the words. As a young child, I remembered the songs without any effort, just by hearing them everyday. Later, I was sent to school for a modern education. Though I did not forget Bhojpuri and used to speak it with some members of my family, I did not get much chance to hear new songs. I could, however, not forget the ones I had heard in my childhood.

In B.A., I offered Hindi literature as one of my optional subjects and studied G.A. Grierson's work on linguistics. I must confess that I could not get much out of it; but it encouraged me to work further on the Bhojpuri dialect. In summer vacation, I went through all available material on it—works done by G.A. Grierson, Udai Narain Tiwari, Devendra Satyarthi, Krishnadeva Upadhyaya and W.G. Archer. But soon I had to stop this self induced study of mine, as I wanted to do an M.A. in Indian Art History and later the Ph.D. in Pahari Painting. At this stage, my love for Bhojpuri folk-songs found further encouragement. W.G. Archer, the well-known scholar of Pahari Painting, had collected a good number of these songs in his early years in India, and had them published. Though we had met several times earlier, I discussed folk songs with him only in 1968, when I met the Archers in London. I am sure he must have forgotten this talk, but I could not, because it had inspired my long-cherished desire to work further on the Bhojpuri of my youth.

My museum work has kept me busy since then. But in 1972 when *Chhavi :The Golden Jubilee Volume* was out and the Hindi translation of *Museums To-day* was sent to press, I felt like working again on Bhojpuri folk-songs. In the summer of 1972, I was invited by the All India Folk-Lore Society—a voluntary organisation—to read a paper at Allahabad. This participation also inspired me. I had time, and a friend. Ronald Amend, then a Ph.D. student, working in the Hindi department at Banaras Hindu University; was willing to help with translation work. So the work started. In the beginning we worked for just an hour a day after my office work at Bharat Kala Bhavan. Later the working hours increased and the translation work was completed by the end of March 1973. The book had to wait because I joined M.S. Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur in April 1973 and Ronald Amend went back to the United States. The portion dealing with marriage ceremony was completed in July 1976. After this, museum work with the new Antiquity Act kept me terribly busy and it was only after March 1977, that I could pay proper attention to this work, and the result is here. I would not call it my work but that of all women who composed these songs and kept this tradition alive.

Bhojpuri is the largest and western most dialect of the "Bihari language" group as it is called by G. A. Grierson. There is no Bihari language as such, but Bhojpuri, alongwith Magahi and Maithili, makes a "group". Bhojpuri is spoken by more than twenty million people in about 43,000 sq. miles, a region that extends from the Himalayan foothills in Nepal-tarai area in the north to Surguja (Madhya Pradesh) in the south, and from the border of Patna district in Bihar in the east to Mirzapur (Uttar Pradesh) in the west. "Bhojpuri" is named after a medieval city called Bhojpur in the present Bhojpur district of Bihar state. This city was established by the Parmar Rajputs of Malwa, who called themselves Ujjaini because they came from Ujjain. They named their capital "Bhojpur" after their illustrious ancestor Bhoj. The language spoken around this place was called Bhojpuri.

Written literature in Bhojpuri is not very rich, because it did not get royal patronage (as suggested by Pt. Krishnadeva Upadhyaya). It is a spoken language, and whatever literature does exist is the creation of the people and saints of this region who composed devotional songs in the people's dialect. Kabir's language is full of Bhojpuri words and can be considered Bhojpuri. Not much has been written on this language or its folk treasure. But a number of scholars–both Indian and foreign have worked on it in the past.

Folk-songs always seem to reflect the social pattern, religious beliefs, customs and manners of a society; thus Bhojpuri songs also portray a picture of Bhojpuri society: where men are brave, women shy but strong, and alert towards the social, political and economic changes in their surroundings. In this area, people mainly depend on agriculture, though many of them go into the army and police services and some take other kinds of jobs also.

The present work deals with marriage songs and a good number of these songs are dedicated to gods and

goddesses. The story of Ram is very popular in this area, not only because Tulsidas lived and wrote his *Ramcharitamanas* at Varanasi, but also because this story gives a full view of married life—which is not merely a love life of husband and wife but a life full of struggles. The idea behind songs associated with Ram and Sita is to introduce the couple who are about to wed, to the problems they will have to face, to acquaint them with the possible difficulties in life, and to tell them that both the husband and wife are to share sorrow and joy together—which is real companionship.

Krishna is better known as lover in Indian society and therefore he is mainly associated with seasonal songs and *jhumar*. In marriage songs, he appears once or twice but in those cases his companion is Rukmini—the wedded wife of Krishna, not Radha, our song 22 depicts Rukmini's elopement with Krishna. Radha is portrayed as Krishna's companion in Indian art and literature but she is not at all prominent in these marriage songs, probably, mainly because she was a devotee, a beloved of Krishna, not a married wife.

Shiva and Parvati are known for their marital devotion. Parvati, in her previous birth as Sati burned herself in *yajna* fire at her father's place because Shiva was not invited there to participate in the ceremony. In her next birth she became Parvati, did penance for Shiva and got him as her husband. Therefore, Shiva and Parvati are considered as ideal husband and wife in Indian folk lore and in classical art and literature as well.

Shitala, the goddess of small pox, who is considered a form of Kali, is a well respected deity in villages and most of these villages have a shrine for mother *Shitala* and her sisters, popularly known as the seven sisters or as *Saptamatar*, the seven mothers in the Hindu pantheon. Small pox is a dangerous disease and therefore this goddess has a prominent place in songs. There is even a festival related to her. One thing pertaining to this deity is worth mentioning here. Songs dedicated to her are often associated with Muslim personages as well as with Hindus. With my best effort, I could not find a full explanation for this. Muslims in this area, however, accepted local beliefs or local people even after their conversion to Islam, followed much of their old way of life, for example Muslims believe in *Satyanarain katha*—(Story of Satyanarain)—a story which Hindus hear usually on full moon day. Among Muslims it is known as the Story of *Satya Pir*. Smallpox also is a common disease and children of whatever faith get affected very easily. Before the invention of vaccination smallpox often wrought havoc in this area. Therefore perhaps Muslim women folk could not get away from a belief in Shitala. Some of these songs may even have been composed by Muslim women and thus these Muslim names occur.

Besides these deities, many names of local folk gods and goddesses appear in these songs but there is none dedicated to any one of them.

A word about the morning and evening songs elderly ladies from the family and the neighbourhoo sing five songs in the morning and five in the evening t invite the gods and goddesses—Ganesh, Shiva, Brah Vishnu, Durga and others–to participate on *mandap* day the women folk also invite natural powers such as clo storms, rains and also insects like snakes and scorpi to join the ceremony.

The idea is that marriage is such an auspici occasion that every one should join, at the same time may still reflect the ideas of the Vedic age when h beings worshipped natural powers. Though some the Vedic forces—such as Indra, Vayu or others–are st in worship, their forms are changed. One of t morning songs here also reminds of the Vedic idea एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति (Rigveda 1.164.46)–it is the o one which is described in various ways. Women that Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh all are you, c ancestors are you, so you must bless the couple are going to be wedded (song 3).

Not only gods and natural powers but the birds and animals–the whole creation–is invited to att the ceremony. The bride's and groom's mothers req the mango tree to come, they say, "mango tree, come my *mandap*, without you what would a marriage be Similarly they bring earth from the field "come earth, without you what would a marriage be Women folk talk with parrots and ask them to perch *mahua* tree. Parrots go with the marriage parties say jokes. The peacock–that magnificient Indian is also a love bird and is painted on walls in the *K* room.

Village folk have their own interpretations of nature, planets and constellations. For them sun is a man who gets angry quite often, one should be careful in offering him anything. Saturn is a real devil, one should not disturb him. Jupiter (Brihaspati) is a shy bride still waiting for her groom Venus (Shukra) to come. The story of Shukra and Brihaspati is sung even today—how Shukra forgets the wedding ornament and comes back to take it, where he finds his mother drinking rice water. He asks why the mother is taking only rice water which is poor man's food. The mother answer's that she is taking it because she does not know if Shukra's wife to be, who is some one else's daughter will give her rice water or not. Shukra says that if his mother is so worried about a thing like rice water, he would remain unmarried, and does not go back to join the wedding party (song 28).

In caste-bound Hindu society, one thinks that there must be several problems with different castes and their working, but strangely enough it is not like this. Every caste has its importance on this occasion. For example the people who do leather work and women from that community play on the drum in marriage, every day. There is a ceremony called *nad-puja* –worship of sound– in which this drummer woman comes with her drum and the bride's or groom's mother and other female members of the family worship the drum. Here caste consciousness does not work and even a Brahman woman has to worship the drum. Similarly, the washerwoman gives *Suhag* to a bride or a groom. Only she is authorised to do it and no body else could do it. Potter, gardener and carpenter are also received with great respect on *mandap* day, women sing songs welcoming them (songs 50–52).

A daughter is very dear in Bhojpuri families. These songs show how much they are loved by their parents and brothers and yet disliked at the same time because of their need for dowry. Dowry is a social evil and resentment is expressed against it in several of these songs : at one place (song 23) the bride's mother is very happy to see her daughter's wedding party but gets annoyed at the demand for dowry. Another song tells us (song 31) about a groom who demands flowers from his father-in-law's garden as dowry. The bride does not approve the idea and says, "your father is a rich man, why did he not plant a garden."

As dowry the bride's father gives clothes, jewelry cows, buffaloes and land. Once the dowry is settled and everything goes well the bride's mother worries–how her young daughter will adjust herself in the new family. She instructs the maid-servant, accompanying the bride and also sends special message through the bride's younger brother to the groom's mother (song 19). Sometimes, in arranged marriages there is a possibility that the groom may not like the bride or vice versa, as in most cases they meet each other for the first time after marriage. Therefore, the bride's mother is always worried till her daughter is finally settled with her husband. They try to know from the bride's friends and through other sources if the newly wedded couple is happy and whether their life is full of marital love. In a song, "bridegroom with red wooden sandles," a mother peeps into her daughter's bedroom and finds that her daughter is sleeping on one side of the bed. She asks her son-in-law what is the matter ? Why is he so indifferent to his wife ? Is she ugly or was the wedding party not received properly ? The groom replies that he is neither indifferent nor was there any complaint against the reception, but he is tired, after the long journey he took for coming to his in-law's place.

Socio-economic and political conditions also form a subject for these songs, especially in dance songs– *jhumar*. These are composed by young girls and therefore are based on the then contemporary subjects, for example many of these songs depict the episode of Kunwar Singh (he was a hero of the first National movement in 1857) or the Second World War, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, scarcity of grains, or a flood in the Ganga or other rivers in this area.

In the end, it should be mentioned that these songs are sung in every community and by all castes. Muslims even sing the same songs at marriage time except, of course, those dedicated to the Hindu gods and goddesses.

Marriage

After the groom's family accepts the proposal of the bride's family and the horoscopes have been compared, an auspicious day is fixed by the *pandit* for the *tilak* ceremony. The *tilak* is an auspicious mark applied on the forehead. The ceremony marks the beginning of the wedding. The function consists of the bride's party (brother, barber, brahman and one or two others) going to the house of the groom to apply the *tilak* to his forehead. On this day the courtyard of the groom is washed with cowdung, a big feast is arranged and all the relatives and neighbours are invited to attend the ceremony. In the evening just after sunset all the guests come and sit in the courtyard on a *jajim*. The groom sits in the centre on a painted *chauka*. The family priest makes Gauri—Ganesh with cowdung and worships it with water, flowers, rice and sandal paste. The brother of the bride then applies the *tilak* on the groom's forehead, puts yellow rice (coloured with turmeric or saffron) in the groom's palms and offers whatever he has brought for the *tilak* ceremony which consists usually of material for clothing, fruits and sweets

and money according to the financial status of the family. Turmeric roots, coconut, betel leaf and nuts are compulsory. The wealthy cover the coconut with silver or gold. After the ritual the family priest writes the *lagnapatrika*-the marriage program. The ladies of the groom's family go to the courtyard to do *chumavan.* The groom's mother takes the coloured rice from the groom's palm in her *anchal* and puts it near the family deity. The groom then pays respect to the family deity, to other gods and goddesses and to elder members of the family. The bride's party brings unhusked rice, yellow coloured rice, *dub* grass and roots of turmeric. The same ingredients are brought from the groom's side also. The family priest after mixing these, divides them into equal portions and distributes them among the two families. The purpose of this ritual is to symbolize the union of the two families. Excepting the *dub* grass all these ingredients are put to use in the marriage ceremony. The unhusked rice is used on the *bhatwan* day. The women of the groom's family prepare rice with it and cook it in the *mandap.* The groom takes that rice with curd and sugar in the company of four other unmarried boys. This ceremony is called "removal of bachelorhood" (कुंअरथ उतारना). Five pieces of turmeric are also used on the *mandap* day. The barber's wife grinds and makes a paste of it. This paste is applied to the bride and the bridegroom at their respective places.

On the *tilak* day, after the dinner is over, five married women grind five seers of turmeric and five seers of gram to be used for making sweets for the marriage. On this occasion the women sing auspicious songs *(saguna).*

After the *tilak* ceremony the bride's party goes back to their village and *lagna-chumavan* takes place on an auspicious day. On that day the bride gets dressed in a yellow *sari* and collyrium is put in her eyes. Women of the village are invited to join the *lagna-chumavan.* After sunset the bride sits on a *chauka* painted by the barber's wife in the courtyard. The courtyard is also washed with cowdung. The bride takes the same coloured rice in her palm which the *tilak* party brought from the groom's place. The family priest makes Gauri-Ganesh with cowdung and worships it with water and flowers. Close female relatives do the *chumavan.* The bride pays her respects to the family deity and elder members of the family.

As discussed above five women prepare five seers of turmeric powder and five seers of gram flour on the day of *lagna chumavan.* The gram flour is used for making sweets for worshipping the family deity and the turmeric powder is used for different purposes in the marriage.

From the day of the *tilak* ceremony at the groom's house and from the day of *lagna chumavan* at the bride's place local women and the family get together in morning and evening to sing songs about the marriage: in morning they sing only five songs addressed to various gods and goddesses but in evening five for Devi, five for Shiva, many general marriage songs, a number of *jog* and *sahana* and after this *jhumar* and *dheria.* Devi and Shiva songs are sung at the homes of both the bride and the groom. Like these there are some general marriage songs which are commonly sung at both the bride's and groom's homes. There are also some which are to be sung only at the groom's place and some only at the bride's for example *jog* and *sahana. Jog* songs are sung only at the bride's place and *sahana* only at the groom's. The singing of these songs goes on until the last day of the marriage which is known as *chauthari.*

From the *tilak* day till the day of *bhatwan* the groom is not allowed to move freely outside. He goes with another person and carries a key or knife made of iron to protect himself from evil eye. The groom is neither allowed to change his clothes nor to bathe. From the day of *lagna chumavan* till the marriage day the bride has also to observe the same life-style. She cannot wear bangles and ornaments and is not allowed to braid her hair. Both the bride and groom are massaged daily with a paste of barley flour and mustard.

The next day of activity is the day of the *mandap.* A *mandap* is set up at both the bride's and groom's houses. Late in the morning just before the thatching of the *mandap* the *kalyani puja* ceremony is performed in which one bamboo pole, a branch of a mango tree and a cluster of *kusha* grass are planted in the courtyard. Both the bride and groom and their parents fast at their respective places on that day and worship Gauri and Ganesh and the family deity also. After the *puja* they thatch the *mandap.* In the bride's house her brother thatches the *mandap* with grass and green bamboo and decorates it with flowers and mango leaves. He

and all creatures. The next function is *sil-poa.* The women of the bride's or groom's family ceremonially place in the *mandap* a *sila,* pestle, rice, *laddu* and a few small balls made of clay gathered during the *matkora* ceremony. In this ceremony the mother of the groom or the bride grinds some uncooked rice on the *sila* with the pestle. While this ceremony is being performed the women of the bride's or the groom's family and of the the village sing. At its conclusion, a handful of rice and one or two *laddus* are given to each woman present. This *sila* and pestle are not removed from that place till the marriage ceremony is completed.

After *sil-poa* the women perform another ritual which is known as *kunwar matkora* – literally 'digging of the virgin earth'. In the morning, just after *sil-poa,* an unmarried girl, who is usually the younger sister of the groom or the bride goes with the groom's or the bride's mother to dig for some earth nearby. The unmarried girl and the mother join together to share at the same time the wearing of one large shawl. The shoe maker's wife with her drum and a number of women and children accompany them. The unmarried girl digs the earth five times and takes it in the *anchal* of the large shawl. They return and put the earth in the *mandap.*

In the late morning, the barber invites members of the family, neighbours and others from the village to attend the *matripuja* or *ghrit-dhari* ceremony. At this ceremony the bride's or the groom's parents must sit in the *mandap.* When the family priest comes, *matripuja* begins by worshipping Gauri and Ganesh. After the *puja* of Gauri and Ganesh is over the priest and the bride's or the groom's parents go to the *kohbar* (the painted room) and affix five oval shaped small balls of cowdung in the centre of a painted area. They also paste a piece of new cloth dyed in turmeric on these balls and mark the cloth with vermillion. *Puja* is performed with *ghee,* vermillion, uncooked rice and flowers which is considered to be an offering to the ancestors. The bride's or groom's parents also give gifts to those family members who are elder to them on the *bhtawan* day. Gifts vary according to the economic level of the family. An average middle class family gives a *dhoti* to the priest and a *sari* to his wife alongwith five rupees. A *sari* or *dhoti* is also given to the respective female and male members of the family.

In the afternoon, the sister or aunt of the bride or groom cooks the rice which she had pounded with the other women on the *mandap* day. Then the bride or groom is asked to sit in the *mandap* with four other children of his or her own sex. A married woman rotates a leaf plate,which consists of rice, curd and sugar for each boy or girl over his or her head while asking each one whether his bachelorhood/her maidenhood is gone. For the four children the reply is 'no' but for the bride or groom it is "yes". Afterwards they eat.

There are some rituals, which have to be performed before the departure of the marriage party to the bride's place. Nowadays the timing of these rituals is adjusted to the train or bus schedules. If a marriage party is leaving early in the morning or by a night train these rituals are performed late in the evening. The first is *nahachhu nahan,* the second *suhag-dena* and the third *imali ghontana.*

Nahachhu-nahana—The aunt or sister of the bride or groom digs a symbolic pond for bathing the bride or groom. This is attempted by scratching the earth five times with a showel-like instrument. The mother prepares a leafplate of uncooked rice, turmeric roots and coins or rupees. Sometimes the aunt demands a specific amount of money or a particular ornament. Rice and turmeric are essential, but the amount of money depends on the economic level of the family. After the aunt has symbolically dug the pond, the male members of the family bring a section of a traditional village plough and put it near the symbolic pond. The groom sits on that section of the plough and bathes with *kalash* water from the *mandap.* Five men, usually brothers and cousins, help the groom in bathing by pouring water on his head from the *mandap.* A small quantity of this water is kept for the bride who bathes after the marriage party has reached her place. The water brought from the groom's place is used first, after which *kalash* water from her house is taken. After the groom has bathed, the washerwoman who cleans the clothes of the family gives *suhag.* Usually people believe that *suhag* given by a washerwoman has life-long effect. The term *suhag* describes a happily married state in which a husband and wife are expected to live after marriage. Traditionally the washerwoman is the most auspicious person for this purpose. She gives *suhag* with cumin seeds and seeds of the aromatic

herb *ajvayan.* She rotates the cumin seeds and *ajvayan* above the groom's head and throws them in a fire which is kept in an earthen pot near the groom. She repeats this five times and then offers brown sugar to the bride or groom. The brown sugar is offered four times and taken back. The fifth time it is given. For this she receives a *sari* and a blouse. Even an indigent person gives a *sari* to the washerwoman on this occasion.

Imali ghontana- After *suhag dena* there is a ritual to celebrate the groom's changing relationship to his parents as he enters a new phase of life with its attendant responsibilities. With the son's marriage his attention and affection will be turned towards his wife and children. Recognising the conflict of loyalties and duties that can occur, the following ceremony is performed to symbolically break the affectional link between parent and child. A basket is made ready, large enough to seat both the groom and his mother. When this basket is placed on the *chauka* the groom and his mother sit in it together. The groom's maternal uncle offers water with mango leaves to his sister (groom's mother), and some money also. After he has done so the mother covers her son's eyes with her hand while the barber extracts a drop of blood from the groom's thumb. This ritual is called *sneh kadhana* which means 'to take out affection'.

After this the groom is dressed in fine clothes with his brothers-in-law (sister's husband) and uncles (father's sister's husband) assisting him. He then sits in a palanquin for *parichhan.* The married women of the family dressed in their best *saris* do *parichhan.* Usually the barber's wife prepares a large plate for *parichhan* in which betel leaves, uncooked rice, collyrium, sandal paste, *ghee* and a lamp are placed and stands by the side of the palanquin, with this large plate. At that time, women sing and musicians play. All the elderly women and sisters-in-law offer betel leaf to the groom while the groom's mother feeds him for the last time. The groom is accompained by a small boy, usually his younger brother or nephew goes with the groom.

After the marriage party reaches the bride's house a big welcome is provided by the bride's family. At this time a man comes, who is *bari* by caste and who has jingle bells tied to his waist. The *bari* dances in front of the marriage party and counts the *barati*—members. His other function is to bring a *sari* from the groom's father for the bride's mother. When the *bari* brings the *sari* into the bride's house, he dances in the *mandap.* After taking some money he gives the *sari* to the bride's mother. Then the function of *bhatwan* starts at the bride's house i. e. *matripuja.*

In the evening the marriage party comes in procession to the bride's door. They are received and offered drinks and snacks. The groom is made to sit on a *chauki* just outside the main door. The priest starts *puja* with Gauri and Ganesh. This is a reception ceremony with the bride's father receiving the groom by applying *tilak* and offering money. When the marriage party comes, five married women stand at the door with five pitchers full of water which are covered with yellow cloth.

Then the marriage party goes to the place, where they are staying in the bride's village. The barber brings water (collected at the time of the groom's bathing ceremony in his house), from the groom's party. The bride sits on a section of a plough and with that water begins her bathing ceremony assisted by five married women. The washerwoman gives her *suhag* and then the *imali ghontana* ceremony takes place.

The groom's elder brother goes to the bride's house and ceremonially presents her with ornaments, garments and a decorated packet containing spices and dried fruits. He then puts a necklace of string around the bride's neck and offers her additional ornaments and jewelry. This necklace of string is most essential for the marriage ceremony. Among the wealthy this presentation ceremony is followed by *mantras,* recited by a priest. On this occasion women sing humorous and obscene songs in which the abuse is directed towards the groom's elder brother.

After the function of *barnet,* the groom goes to the bride's house for the marriage ceremony, there at the door married women of the bride's family perform *parichhan* while singing songs. Then the younger sisters of the bride and other girls throw wickers on the way. The groom picking up these wickers goes to the *mandap* in the courtyard where he sits on a small and low bench that is newly made for this occasion. The bride's father offers him a *dhoti* which the groom wears in the *mandap.* The bride's parents also sit in the *mandap,* with the bride sitting in front of them. At

the same time the carpenter brings a *chauki* for the groom's father who sits on it. The bride's father washes the groom's father's feet and embraces him. Then the bride's parents formally give their daughter to the groom. This act is known as *kanyadan* : to give one's daughter in gift. In this ceremony the bride's father brings water, uncooked rice, flowers and gold (usually in the form of a ring) and offers them to the groom. When the groom accepts, the father formally gives away his daughter. *Kangans* are tied on the wrists of the bride and of the groom. These *kangans* are removed on the fourth day of the marriage-*chauthari*. *Kangans* protect from the evil eye both the bride and groom from this time till the sexual union is performed. The groom then holds the bride's right hand which is known as *panigrahana*—taking a hand; "I seize thy hand for the sake of happiness, that thou mayest live to old age with me, thy husband. Bhaga, Aryama, Savitr, Purandhi, gods have given thee to me, that we may rule over house. This I am, that art thou. That art thou, this am I. The Saman as I, the Rk thou, the Heaven I, the Earth thou: come let us marry. Let us unite our sperm. Let us beget offsprings. Let us acquire many sons and may they reach old age. Loving; bright with genial minds may we see a hundred autumns, may we live a hundred autumns, may we hear a hundred autumns."[1] The priest recites *mantras*. On this occasion women sing very pathetic songs expressing the joy of marriage and the sorrow of giving away the daughter of the family.

After this ceremony of giving the bride away the bride sits beside the groom. The barber's wife ties together the ends of the bride's and the groom's garments. Then the bride's brother performs the ritual of *lajahome*, which is popularly known as *lava chhintana* (to sprinkle puffed rice). The bride's brother, wearing a large silk shawl brought by the groom's family, gives some puffed rice in the palms of the bride and the groom, who offer it to the fire. The priest recites *mantras* and the groom holds the thumb of the bride during this cermony. After this ritual the bride's parents worship the bride's and the groom's feet.

After this the *sapta-padi* ceremony takes place, in which the bride and the groom circumambulate the fire seven times and then take mutual vows to strengthen their commitment to each other. *Sapta-padi* or seven steps are described as "one step for sap, two for juice, three for prospering of wealth, four for comforts, five for cattle, six for seasons. Friend ! be with seven steps (united to me) so be thou devoted to me.[2]"

The groom then applies vermillion powder on the parting of the bride's hair, which is called *sindoor-dan* "giving vermillion". Dr. Raj Bali Pandey says "It is the most striking feature of the present-day marriage ceremonies, but it is nowhere mentioned in the *Grhya-sutras*. The Paddhatis say, "According to the tradition, *sindur-dan* etc. are performed."[3]

The next ceremony is *sumangli*, in which priests from both sides—bride's and groom's—bless the newly wedded couple and receive gifts from the fathers of the bride and the groom for conducting the marriage. The *Grhyasutras* state that the priest should be given a a cow when he performs a wedding for a brahman, a village for a kshatriya's marriage and a horse for a vaishya's[4]. The common practice today is for priests to be paid in cash.

After this the male members from both sides bless the couple and go to their respective places. The bride and the groom still remain in the *mandap*. At this time women from the family and neighbourhood perform *chumavan* of the bride and groom. Then the newly married couple goes to the *kohbar* (the painted room) alongwith other female members of the family and village. At the *kohbar* door the couple are stopped by the bride's sisters and sisters-in-law (bride's brother's wives). After teasing the new couple and asking for gifts which they usually do not accept, they allow the bride and groom to enter the *kohbar*. On the wall of the *kohbar* is a painting of a lotus flower and bamboo which the couple worships : the groom worships the bamboo and the bride the lotus flower. Bamboo and lotuses are auspicious symbols in the Indian tradition—symbols of fertility. Women sing songs

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1. Raj Bali Pandey, *Hindu Samskars*, Varanasi, 1976, p. 218,
2. Ibid, p. 219.
3. Ibid, p. 220.
4. *Paraskara Grhyasutra*, 1. 8. 15-17.

which say that the bride should be as fruitful as a lotus plant. Then the bride's brother's wife brings curd and sugar in two bowls and feeds the bride and the groom, who after exchanging the bowls between them are again fed curd and sugar by the bride's sister-in-law. After this the groom joins the other members of his marriage party, while the bride stays in her house.

While the groom is being married in the bride's village, in his own village a separate festivity to commemorate his marriage is taking place among his female relatives and the women of the village. The women of his village gather together in the night and perform skits about child birth. One woman acts as though pregnant and gives birth to a child. The "baby" is made of wheat flour with *cowrie* shells for features. All those ceremonies which are performed at the birth of a child are symbolically performed at this time. Songs are sung which are sung at childbirth. The groom's mother sits in a large bamboo basket while her younger sister in-law (husband's younger brother's wife) rubs her toe with vermillion powder during this ceremony. Throughout this ritual the groom's mother is supposed to sit quietly—neither speaking nor laughing; otherwise it is commonly believed that her new daughter-in-law will be talkative. This celebration goes on for the entire night At daybreak they prepare rice pudding and *puris* (stuffed with gram flour) and go to their own homes after having them.

In the bride's village, on the next day the bride's brothers carrying one metal pot filled with water and mango leaves on top go to the place where the groom's party is staying and invite them for lunch. The groom's father accepts the invitation by touching the metal pot. In some areas the groom's father is invited for dinner. During this lunch women sing humorous songs.

After lunch, in the afternoon the groom is invited to the inner apartment of the bride. He goes with his younger brothers and cousins and sits in the *mandap* on a cot. The bride applies oil to his hair and offers perfume. All the women of the family sit there and talk with the groom. Young girls tease him and his relatives. He tastes sweets there and is given many gifts: clothes, money and small articles. Early in the evening the groom goes to the place where the marriage party is staying. On this occasion women sing *jog* songs.

Late in the evening after dinner members from both the bride's and the groom's side gather together under a big tent where a dance performance takes place. Dried fruits, sweets, cigarettes and betel leaves are offered to the participants by the groom's father. At the end of the performance the groom's father sends a metal plate with dried fruits and money to the bride's mother who accepts it and returns the same after adding more sweets and money. Then the groom's and bride's fathers embrace each other.

Early the next morning the marriage party departs for the groom's house. Before departure the groom goes to the inner apartment of the bride's house to fetch her. There he sits in the *kohbar* beside the bride. The bride applies vermillion on the bamboo drawn on the wall of the *kohbar*, where cowdung and yellow cloth have also been pasted. Then the couple feed each other sugar and curd. Usually the sister-in-law (bride's brother's wife) brings this curd and sugar. She also brings some uncooked rice in a metal plate and fills the groom's palms five times. Women from the bride's family give money to the groom at this time.

The bride's sister or sister-in-law (brother's wife) puts five roots of turmeric, *dub* grass, cumin seeds and money in the bride's *anchal* and ties a knot. She applies vermillion to the parting of the bride's hair and on her forehead. She also ties the end of the bride's silk shawl to the groom's *dupatta*, then the bride departs for the groom's home. Usually she weeps at the time of departure, when she sits in the palanquin with the groom, her younger brother wipes his sister's feet with a towel and shakes that towel in every room of the house. People believe that a daughter is a form of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth. Therefore, when she is leaving, the dust of her feet should remain so that good fortune will never leave the house.

When the marriage party returns to the groom's village, the newly married couple must sit in a palanquin and be taken to the groom's house. There at the door, the women of the groom's family and the village do *parichhan*. The barber's wife prepares a large metal plate consisting of sandal paste, vermillion, curd, betel leaves, betel nuts, a pestle and a lamp and stands with this metal plate by the side of the palanquin. First the women rotate the pestle over the groom's head and apply a *tilak* of curd and red powder then they rotate

the lamp. They also offer betel leaves. The women receive the bride by applying vermillion powder to the parting of her hair. The bride in return applies vermillion to them.

Then the bride and groom come out of the palanquin with the ends of their garments tied together. On the head of the bride is a small coil of thread to hold steady a pot which is to be placed there. In the groom's hands is a small earthen pot with curd in it which he places on the bride's head. Neither is permitted to step on the earth. Two big baskets painted in pink and green are placed on the ground for them to walk in. Both bride and groom enter the same basket. At this point the bride puts her hand in a pitcher, full of water with mango leaves on its top which is carried by a married woman who is standing by the side of the palanquin. *The baskets are interchanged until they reach the door* of the *kohbar* where the couple is stopped by the groom's sister and her husband. The groom then gives money to his sister and brother-in law who allow the married couple to enter. Inside the *kohbar*, the bride touches seven pots containing *ghee*, brown sugar, salt, *bada* (fried balls of gram flour soaked in curd) and different types of grains. This ritual symbolizes the bride's new status as the mistress of the house. Then the groom's sister washes the groom's feet in a large metal plate. If the sister is younger than the groom, she washes the bride's feet also but if she is older, the bride washes her feet. For this she gets the metal plate and some rupees. She also opens the knot of the bride's *anchal* taking the cumin seeds, turmeric roots and money tied in it.

In the *kohbar*, the bride and groom worship the painted lotus flower and bamboo as they had done at the bride's house. The women sing *kohbar* songs and then the bride and groom have some curd with sugar. After this the groom leaves the *kohbar*. The bride is then offered a dish which is especially prepared for her. This meal consists of five types of vegetables (of which pumpkin and spinach are compulsory), rice pudding and *puri* (stuffed with gram flour). Four girls join the bride in partaking of this meal. Usually the bride simply touches the plate and does not eat but the other girls do.

The next day, the last day of the marriage ceremony, is popularly known as *chauthari* (literally "fourth" referring to the fourth day of the wedding). Early in the morning, the courtyard is washed with cowdung and the women of the village are invited to prepare the feast. The bride and the groom fast till the afternoon. Late in the morning the bride and the groom sit in the *mandap*, worship the family deity and listen to the *Satyanarainvrata katha* (a religious text extolling the qualities of Vishnu and encouraging his worship) narrated by the priest. All the family members *and villagers are invited to listen to this narration which* is considered very sacred. After this program is over all the men leave the *mandap* while all the women enter it. After entering they do *chumavan* of the bride and the groom and then a ritual called *cowrie khelna*—"to play with *cowrie* shells"—takes place. The groom's sister or sister-in-law (groom's brother's wife) brings a metal plate with milk and water mixed in it. She puts five *cowrie* shells in it. The bride and groom play a game with these shells and the bride usually wins. The groom's sister washes the groom's feet in a metal plate with water. As before, if she is the younger sister, she washes the bride's feet also and receives money for it, and if she is the elder the bride washes her feet and receives money from the groom's sister. Then the bride and the groom pay respect to the gods and goddesses and touch the feet of the elderly members of the family and receive blessings. A big feast is given to the family members and to the villagers on this occasion by the groom's father which concludes the marriage ceremony. In some areas the bride and groom meet on *chauthari* night for the first time after the marriage ceremony and in some areas the bride meets the groom at night before the *chauthari*.

हेरले लगनिया के रा बेर

चनन चउकिया गढ़वले........दादा
माई बीच बीच माई बीच बीच लागल गजमोती
ताही चउकी बईठले दुलहा........दुलहा
माई हेरले लगनिया केरा बेर

Waiting for the auspicious moment

—Grand father........[1] had a sandal-wood stool made
—O mother, the centre of (the sandal-wood stool) is studded with rare pearls[2]
—Bridegroom........[3] is seated on the stool
—O mother (he is) looking for the auspicious moment for marriage

चुमावन

साठी के चउरा लहालही दूब
चुमवे जे चलली हरजोतवा जमींदरवा के धीव
जत चुमईह तत दीह आशीष
जिअस दुलहा दुलहिन लाख बरिस

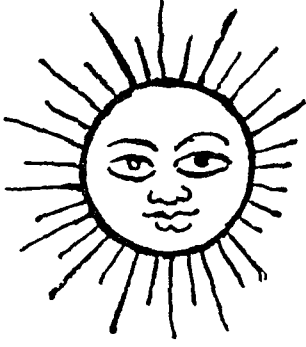
Blessings

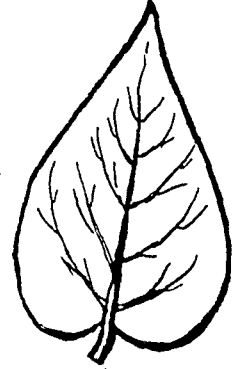
—(With) *sathi*[4] rice and green grass[5]
—The ploughman's daughter/chief's daughter[6] is going to bless (the couple)[7]
—Give blessing as many times as you do it.
—May the bride and groom live for 100,000 years

पराती : इहो तीनों तूंही हव

ब्रह्मा विष्णु महेश, त इहो तीनों
त इहो तीनों तूंहीं हउव
तीनों मिलि देहू ना आशीष
त जीअसु दुलहा दुलहिन लाख बरिस

Morning song : All three are you

—Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh[8], all three
—All three are you
—(All) three of you bless (the couple)
—Bride and bride groom should
—Live for hundred thousand years (together)

पराती : जागहूना

देव हुरूहुरू हो गईले बिहान त काली मईया जागहू ना
देव हुरूहुरू हो गईले बिहान त बरहम बाबा जागहू ना
देव हुरूहुरू हो गईले बिहान त सायर मईया जागहू ना
देव हुरूहुरू हो गईले बिहान त इसरल बिसरल जागहू ना
देव हरदी बिरउश्रा तरे ठाढ़ त हरदी दप दप ना
देव पनवा बिरउश्रा तरे ठाढ़ त पनवा लह लह ना
देव चनन बिरीछ तरे ठाढ़ त चनन मह मह ना

Morning song : Wake up

—Dawn has just broke, O mother Kali wake up
—Dawn has just broke, O Brahma baba wake up
—Dawn has just broke, O mother Sayar wake up
—Dawn has just broke, O (all) forgotten (Gods) wake up
—(When you gods) stand under the turmeric plant, then
the turmeric becomes a brilliant yellow
—(When you gods) stand under the betel leaf plant
the betel leaf becomes lush green
—(When you gods) stand under the sandal-wood tree,
the sandal-wood smells fragrantly

दवना उपजले ए माई हे अनहोनी भांति

हाथे लिहली खुरपी गेंडुअवा जूड़ पानी
चलली...........बेटी दवनवां सिंचवे पानी
टूटी गईले खुरपी ढरकि गईले पानी
दवना उपजले ए माई हे अनहोनी भांति
केकर घोड़वा ए माई हे अरिए अरिए जाला
केकर घोड़वा ए माई हे रउंदे फूलवार
ससुरा भसुरा के घोड़वा ए माई ए अरिए अरिए जाला
...........दुलहा के घोड़वा ए माई हे रउंदे फूलवार
रोअली...........बेटी लट धूनी केस हे
कवन वहिनी के भईया ए माई हे रउंदे फूलवार
हंसले...........दुलहा मुंह दे रूमाल हे
हम नाहीं जनलीं ए सुहवा राउर फूलवार

Morning song :

davana plant grew, O mother exceptionally well

—(The bride) took in her hand a trowel and a water pot, with cold water
—Daughter............[9]went to water the *davana* plant
—The trowel broke and the water splattered
—(But) the *davana* plant grew, O mother, exceptionally well
—Whose horse, O mother, is going by the side (of the garden)
—Whose horse, O mother, has trampled the flower garden
—Father-in-law's and brother-in-law's horses, O mother, are going by the side (of the garden)
—Bridegroom............'s[10] horse, O mother, has trampled the flower garden
—Daughter...............[11]wept bitterly
– Which sister's brother has trampled the flower garden
—Groom...............[12] covered his mouth with a handkerchief, laughing
—I didn't know, O bride, that this was your flower garden

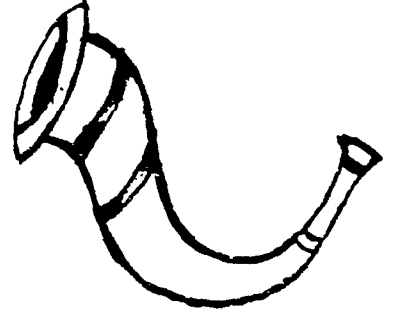
पराती : फूलवाहीं छाइब नगर बनारस

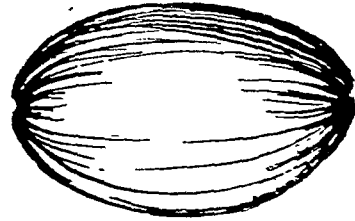
अरईल छाईला खरईल हो कथिए छवईबों चौपार
कथिनी छाईला नगर बनारस देवतन के रे कविलास
अरईल छाईला खरईल हो पनवें छवईबों चौपार
फूलवाहीं छाईव नगर बनारस देवतन के रे कविलास
फूल लोढ़े चललि सुहवा........सुहवा आपन बाबा फूलवार
आंतर भेंटले दुलहा........दुलहा आंचर धई बिलमाय
छोड़ू छोड़ू चौधरी पूता आंचर हो छोड़ि देहू बंहिया हमार
सुने जे पईहें बाबा........बाबा निरघिन करिहें तोहार
सुने जे पईहें चाचा........चाचा निरघिन करिहें तोहार
सुने जे पईहें भइया........भइया निरघिन करिहें तोहार
निरघिन निरघिन जनि कर हो निरघिन होईहें तोहार
सभिए बईठल तोहरो बाबा जे हारले अब दासी भईलू हमार
सभिए बईठल तोहरो चाचा जे हारले अब दासी भईलू हमार
पंसवा खेलत तोहरो भईया जे हारले अब दासी भईलू हमार

Morning song :
Thatch the city of Banaras with flowers

—Arail[13] is thatched with grass
(but) what will I thatch the (wedding) pavilion with?
—What will I thatch the city of Banaras with
(which is) the abode of gods
—Arail is thatched with grass
I will thatch the wedding pavilion with betel leaves
—I will thatch the city of Banaras with flowers
(which is) the abode of gods
—The bride........[14]went to pick flowers
to her father's garden
—On her way she met the bridegroom........[15]
(who) detained her by holding her *anchal*
—O Chief's son, leave my *anchal*
leave my arm
—If father........[16] will hear it
(he) will publicly abuse you
—If uncle........[17] will hear it
(he) will publicly abuse you
—If brother........[18] will hear it
(he) will publicly abuse you
—(Then bride groom says)—do not threaten public abuse (to another)
(because) you will be publicly abused
—Your father was defeated in the company of others
— now you have become my slave
—Your uncle was defeated in the company of others
now you have become my slave
—Your brother was defeated while playing dice
now you have become my slave

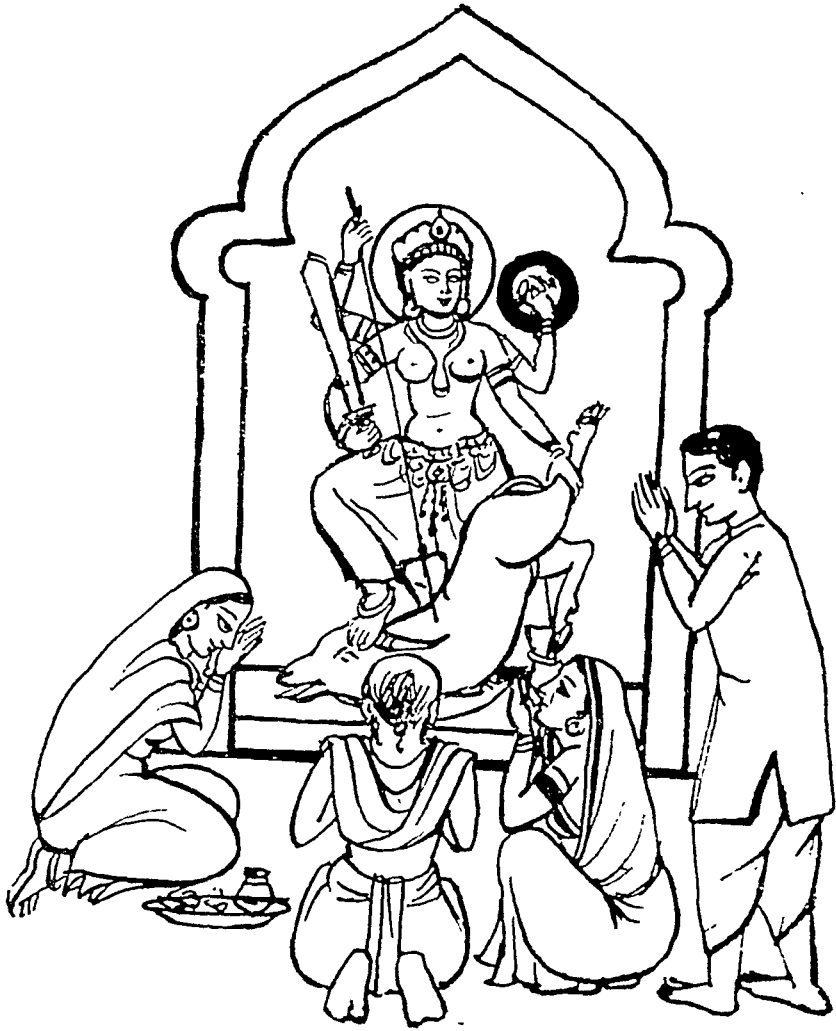
न्यौता

वभना के काचा देवों
नउआ कसइली देवों
नेवता पेठाईव वरहम वावा के
नेवता पेठाईव काली मईया के
नेवता पेठाईव सायर माई के
नेवता पेठाईव सती मईया के
हमरा घरे जग्य हउए
नाहीं देखों डोली डंडी
नाहीं देखों कंहरिया
अरे नाहीं देखों सबुजी ओहार
कइसे नेवता आईव
वोलले........वावा
हम भेजव डोली डंडी
हम भेजव कंहरिया
अरे हम भेजव सबुजी ओहार
हमरे नेवते आईव

Invitation

—The Brahman (I) will give coins
—The Barber (I) will give betel nuts
—(I) will send an invitation to Lord Brahma
—(I) will send an invitation to Mother Kali
—(I) will send an invitation to Mother Sayar
—(I) will send an invitation to Mother Sati
—There is an auspicious ceremony in my house
—(Lord Brahma and three goddesses speak–we) do not see the palanquin
—(We) do not see the palanquin bearers
—(We) do not see the green curtain[19]
—How can (we) come ?
—(Head of the family, where the marriage is taking place) speaks........
—I will send the palanquin
—I will send the palanquin bearers
—I will send the green curtain
—Accept my invitation and come

छोटी मुटी अहिरिन बिटिया

छोटी मुटी अहिरिन बिटिया त दहिया लेले ठाढ़ बाड़ी
दहिया लेहू दहिया लेहू........देई रउरा घरे चाही
कथिनी के तोरा दही बासन कथिनी के जोरन
कपूरनीं के मोरो दही बासन त अमृत जोरन
सेहो दहिया खईहें........दुलहा होईहें राजा रावल
सेहो दहिया खईहें........देई होईहें वर साईत

Dainty *ahira* damsel

—Dainty *ahira*[20] damsel is standing holding (pots of) curd
—O........[21] take curd, take curd, it is needed in your house
—(Then the woman whom *ahira* girl has asked to take curd asks)—What is your curd pot made of, what is *joran*[22] made of
—(*Ahira* girl answers)—my curd pot is made of camphor and the *joran* is made of nectar
—That same curd groom........will eat and he will be king Raval[23]
—That same curd bride........will eat and she will be worthy for the groom

संझा : न्यौता

झूरी में से निकलल पनवा रे पनवा देसे देसे नेवता पेठाव
गया नेवतव गया गजाधर अउर नेवतव परयाग
उनका सरीखे देवी दुर्गा नेवतव नीचे नेवतव पंच भाई
झूरी में से निकलल पनवा रे पनवा देसे देसे नेवता पेठाव
काशी में नेवतव काशी विसेसर अउर नेवतव परयाग
उनका सरीखे देवी दुर्गा नेवतव नीचे नेवतव पंच भाई

Evening song :
invitation to gods and goddesses

—Betel leaf came from the grove, (I) will send invitation to different provinces
—I will invite Gajadhar (Ganesh) of Gaya and I will invite (gods of) Prayag
—I will invite the goddess Durga who is like them (as important as they are) and in this world will invite community people
—Betel leaf came from the grove, (I) will send invitation to different provinces
—I will invite Lord Vishwanath at Banaras and will invite (gods of) Prayag
—I will invite the goddess Durga who is like them (as important as they are) and in this world will invite community people

शिव जी के दोसर बिग्राह

पुरईनि पात पर सुतली गउरादेई सपना देखली अजगुत हे
मोरंग देशे बाजन एक बाजेला केकर होखेला बिग्राह हे
पार परोसिन तुहूं मोरा गोतिन सपना के करू ना विचार हे
तुहूं में ग्रानी गउरा तुहूं सेग्रानी तुहूं पंडितजी के धीव हे
झर रे झरोखा चढ़ि गउरा निरेखस जस देखों शिव चलल ग्रावें हे
पहिरू गउरादेई ईग्ररी से पिग्ररी सवत परिछ भलि लेहू हे
किया हो महादेव चोरनी से चटनी किया हम कोखि के विहून हे
किया हो महादेव सेवा से चूकलीं काहे कईल दोसर बिग्राह हे
नाहीं हो गउरादेई चोरनी से चटनी नाहीं तुहूं कोखि के विहून हे
नाहीं हो गउरादेई सेवा से चूकलू भावी कईले दोसर बिग्राह हे
किया हो महादेव दर देवरनियां किया हई पूत बहुग्रार हे
डंडिया उघार जब देखली गउरादेई इ त गांगो बहिनी हमार हे
तोहरो के बहिनी हो वर नाहीं जूरल मोरा पीठि दरलू ग्रंगार हे
सारी पईसी बहिनी गोवर कढ़िह करिह रसोइया मन लाय हे
हमरो लड़िकवा खेलईह हो बहिनी शिवजी के सेजे जनि जाय

Shiva's Second Marriage

—Gaura dei[24] sleeps on lotus leaves
(and) has a strange dream
—In Morang[25] country music is being played
who is getting married ?
—(Gauri asks her neighbours)—O neighbours, you are my companions
think over this dream
—(They answer)—Gaura dei, you yourself are very clever
you are the daughter of a learned man
—Gaura dei looks through the window
as if Shiva is coming
—(Shiva says) Gaura dei put on a yellow *sari*
welcome your co-wife
—(Gaura asks) O Mahadeva, am I the type of woman who hides things from you
or am I a barren woman
—O Mahadeva, did I fail in serving you
why did you get married a second time
—(Mahadeva answers)—no Gaura dei, you are not the type of woman who conceals things
you are not barren
—No Gaura dei, you did not fail in serving me
fate led me to the second marriage
—O Mahadeva, is she my sister-in-law (here means husband's younger brother's wife)[26]
or is she my daughter-in-law
—When Gaura dei opened the curtain of (the bride's) palanquin
(she was surprised and said)—"This is my sister Ganga
—O sister, you could not find a husband, you have done this to torture me
—O sister (you should) clean the stable and cook properly
—O sister, look after my children
(but) do not go to the bed of Shiva"

शिव : तपसी वर

केरे खोजले वर केरे सोचले दिन कवन निरभेदिया रे भेद बतावले
सेहो वर तपसी भिखार हे
नउआ खोजले वर बभना सोचले दिन भईया निरभेदिया रे भेद बतावले
सेहो वर तपसी भिखार हे
नउआ के पूत मरो बभना के पोथी जरो भईयाजी के होखो छोट राज हे
जिन्हीं निरभेदिया रे भेद बतावले सेहो वर तपसी भिखार हे
कलसा के ओते ओते गौरी मिनती करे सुनु शिव अरज हमार हे
रचि एक ए शिव भेष बनाव नईहर लोग पतिआस हे
नहाई धोआई शिव चन्दन चढ़ावले बईठले आसन मार हे
कने गइलू कने गइलू सासु मदागिन अब रूप देख ना हमार हे
नउआ के पूत जीओ बभना के पोथी बढ़ो भईयाजी के होखो बड़ राज हे
जिन्हीं निरभेदिया रे भेद बतावले सेहो वर राजकुमार हे

Shiva : the ascetic groom

—Who has searched for this bridegroom, who has thought for this (auspicious) day, who is the go-between who made the enquiry (about the bridegroom)
—This bridegroom is an ascetic and a beggar
—(It was) the barber (who) searched for the bridegroom, (it was) the Brahman who had thought of him for the auspicious day, it was (my) brother, who was the go-between and who made the enquiries
—This bridegroom is an ascetic and a beggar
—(O God), let the barber's son die, let the book of the Brahman burn[27] (and) let my brother loose his land (let his land diminish).
—Who was the go-between (and) (who) made the enquiries for the bridegroom is an ascetic and a beggar.
—Gaura is (sitting) behind the earthen pot requesting— listen O Shiva, to my appeal
—O Shiva, take the (proper) form of a man so that the people of (my) home town can believe you
—(Then) Shiva bathed, applied sandal wood paste to his body (and) sat in a cross legged posture
—(Shiva asks)–where did you go, where did you go, O mother-in-law, now see my form !
—(Gaura's mother says)–let the barber's son live, let the wisdom of the Brahman increase and let (my) brother gain more land
—Who was the go-between, who made the enquiries for the bridegroom is a prince

गौरा देई

फूल लोढ़े चलली गउरादेई वावा फुलवारी
वंसहा चढ़ल महादेव लवले दोहाई, सुनु ए शिव
केकर हउ तुहूं वारी रे गोरी केकर हउ दुलारी
केकरा कहनवें गउरादेई अईलू फुलवारी, सुनु ए शिव
वावा के हईं वारी रे गोरी भईया के दुलारी
अरे अम्मां कहनवें महादेव अईलीं फुलवारी, सुनु ए शिव
तोरि देवों डाल रे दउरा फूलवा छितराई
रोवते छछनते गउरादेई घरे चली जईवू, सुनु ए शिव
सूतल रहली अम्मां हो मोरी उठली चेहाई
अरे कवन वउरहवा रे माई मोरी गउरा रोआई, सुनु ए शिव
हमरो कहल हो माई तुहूं नाहीं पतिअईवू
पूछी लेहू पूछी लेहू सखिया सलेहर, सुनु ए शिव
छोटी मुटी जोगिया गे भाई वड़े वड़े जाट्टा
अरे उहे वउरहवा गे माई मोरी गउरा रोआई, सुनु ए शिव

Gauri

—Gauri went to her father's garden to pick flowers
—Mahadeva (who is) riding on Nandi shouted, listen O Shiva
—"O fair one, whose virgin maid are you ? and whose beloved are you ?"
—By whose order did you come to this garden ?
—(Gauri answers) I am my father's virgin maid, I am (my) brother's beloved (sister)
—O Mahadeva, by mother's order I came to this garden, listen O Shiva
—(Mahadeva says) I will break your basket and your flowers will scatter
—O Gauri, you will go home crying, listen O Shiva
—My sleeping mother awoke startled
—(Gauri's mother says), Oh mother, who is this mischievous one who made Gauri cry, listen O Shiva
—(Gauri says) O mother ! you will not believe my words
—Ask my friends, listen O Shiva
—(Then friends say) O mother this was a young *yogi* with long matted hair O mother,
—It was that mischievous one who made our Gauri cry

शिवजी के बरात

मथवा ले अईले महादेव वड़े वड़े जाट्टा कन्हवा ले अईले महादेव वघिनी के छाला
परिछे वहर जे भईली सासु हो मदागिन गेंहुअन संपवा छोड़ले फुफुकारि
भले सासु भले सासु गईलू डेराई आपन वस्तरवा हो सासु लेहू ना संभारि
कथी केरा दियरा कथीनी लागल वाती कथी के तेलवा जरे सारी राती
सोने के रा दियरा रेशम लागल वाती करू के तेलवा जरले सारी राती
जरू दीप जरू दीप चारू पहर राती जवले महादेव खेलले जुआ सारी
जरी गईले तेलवा सम्पूरन भईले वाती जंघिआ ओठंगल गउरादेई गईली अलसाई
तोहरा हीं जंघिआ हो वावा नींद नाहीं आवे प्रभुजी के जंघिआ हो वावा नींद भल आवे
हमराहीं जंघिआ हो वेटी दिन दस चारि प्रभुजी के वंहिया हो वेटी जनम सनेहि

Shiva's wedding party

—Lord Shiva has matted locks on his head and a tiger skin on the shoulder
—His mother–in–law came to receive him, the *gehuan*[28] snake (around his neck) made a hissing sound
—O mother–in–law, you are frightened, take care of your garment (while running)
—What is the lamp made of ? What is the wick made of ? What type of oil burns for the whole night ?
—The lamp is made of gold, the wick is made of silk, mustard oil burns for the whole night
—O lamp burn, O lamp burn, for the four *pahars* of night till Lord Shiva plays dice
—The oil is used up, the wick is finished, Gauri (wife of Shiva) who was leaning against (Shiva's) thigh[29] felt sluggish
—O father, I did not sleep so well while I was in your home, but father, I slept comfortably in my husband's home
—Daughter, my house is just for a short period, your husband's house is life long

गउरा नइहर चली भईली

पोथिया पर वईठले महादेव सुनु ए महादेव
हमरा नईहर जग्य हुउवे जग्य देखे जाईव
विना रे ग्रादर केरा नईहर नईहर जनि जाहु
केकरो कहल नाहीं मनली गउरा नईहर चली भईली
ना चीन्हे माई से वाप नाहीं रे चीन्हे नईहर लोगवा
एक त चिन्हली गांगो वहिनी केवरवा धईले ठाढ़
ग्ररे ग्ररे ब्राह्मण वेद भन गउरा दुग्ररा ठढ़ा वाड़ि
जव ले त ब्राह्मण वेद भने गउरा कुंड धँसलि
जव ले त गउरा कुंडे धँसली शिवजी जे धाजा चढ़े
उतरीं उतरीं महादेव फेनु के विग्राह करव
गउरा के वहिन गांगो वाड़ी त फेनु के विग्राह होई

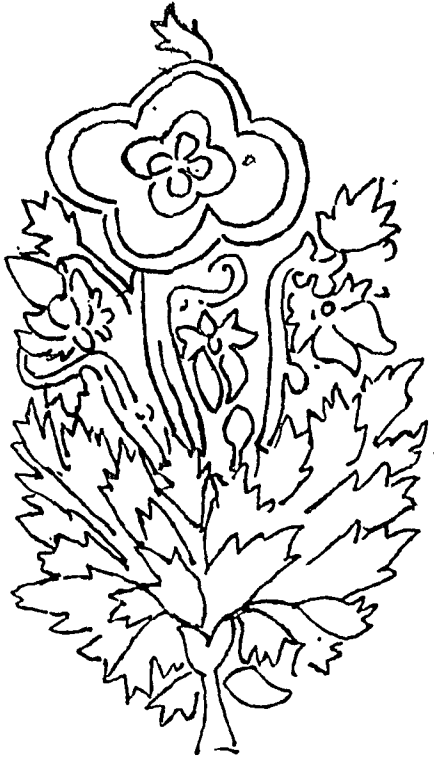
Gauri went to her parent's place

—Mahadeva was studying (Sati, his wife asked) "listen O Mahadeva"
—At my parents home there is a *yajna* I will go to see the *yajna*
—(Shiva says) without an invitation from parents one should not go
—Gaura[30] didn't take anyone's advice and started for her parents' home
—Her mother and father and people from her parents' home did not acknowledge her
—One person (her) sister Ganga, who was standing at the door recognized her
—O Brahman, chant the Vedas, Gaura is standing at the door
—While the Brahman was chanting the Vedas, Gaura entered into firepit
—When Gaura entered into firepit, Shiva climbed the banner pole
—Come down, come down O Mahadeva, marry again
—Gaura's sister Ganga[31] is available, there will be a marriage again

नीमिया के डाढ़ि मईया लवली हिंडोलवा

नीमिया के डाढ़ि मईया लवली हिंडोलवा कि झूली झूली
मईया गावली गीत कि झूली झूली
झूलत झूलत मईया लगली पिअसिआ कि चलि भईली
मलहोरिया अवास कि चली भईली
सूतल बाड़ू कि जागल हो मालिन कि बूंद एक
मालिन पनिया पिअवतू कि बूंद एक
कईसे मैं पनिया पिआंवो ए सीतल मईया कि मोरा गोदे
बलका तोहार हो कि मोरा गोदे
बलका सुतावहू मालिन सोने के खटोलवा कि बूंद एक
मालिन पनिया पिआवहू कि बूंद एक
सोने के घरिलवा मईया रूपे के पिअलिया कि ढारी ढारी
पीअ जूड़ पानी कि ढारी ढारी
सातों बहिनी पीअ जूड़ पानी कि ढारी ढारी
जईसन मालिन मोहे जुड़ववलू कि ओईसन
तोरी धियवा जुड़ाव मालिन ओईसन
तोरी पतोहिया जुड़ाव मालिन ओईसन
धियवा त बाड़ी हो मईया अपनी ससुरवा कि पतोहिया मोर
मईया अपनी नईहरवा पतोहिया मोर
धियवा जुड़ाव मालिन अपनी ससुरवा पतोहिया तोर
मालिन अपनी नईहरवा कि पतोहिया तोर

Swing on *neem* tree

—Mother (Shitala) constructed a swing on a branch of a *neem* tree (and) while swinging
—Mother (Shitala) sang songs, while she was swinging
—Mother (Shitala) became thirsty, while swinging, (and) she started for
—(She) started for gardener's house, she started for
—O gardener's wife, are you sleeping or are you awake, a drop of water
—O gardener's wife, give me a drop of water to drink
—O mother Shitala, how can I give you water to drink, on my lap
—O mother, your child is on my lap
—O gardener's wife, put the child to sleep in a golden bed, a drop of water
—O gardener's wife, give me a drop of water to drink
—O mother, (there is) a golden pitcher and a silver cup (please) pour it
—Pour cool water and drink it
—O seven sisters, pour cool water and drink it
—O gardener's wife as you comforted me, in the same way
—O gardener's wife, your daughter will be comforted in the same way
—O gardener's wife, your daughter-in-law will be comforted in the same way
—O mother (Shitala) my daughter is at her in-law's place and my daughter-in-law
—My daughter-in-law is at her parents' place
—O gardener's wife, your daughter will be comforted at her in-law's place (and) your daughter-in-law
—O gardener's wife, your daughter-in-law will be comforted at her parent's place

सीतल फुलवा लोढ़े जाली

कथि के डलउवा मईया कथी के अंकुसिया हो कवनवें वेसवे ना
मईया मोरी फुलवा लोढ़े जाली हो कवनवें वेसवे ना
सीतल फुलवा लोढ़े जाली हो कवनवें वेसवे ना
सोने के डलउवा मईया रूपे के अंकुसिया हो मलिनिए वेसवे ना
मईया मोरी फुलवा लोढ़े जाली हो मलिनिए बेसवे ना
सीतल फुलवा लोढ़े जाली हो मलिनिए वेसवे ना
एही पार सीतल मईया फुलवा जे लोढ़लि ओही पार ना
राजा बेटा नजरी चलावे हो ओही पार ना
का तुहं राजा बेटा नजरी चलावे हो में जोड़ करवों ना
राजा बेटा तोहरो सरीरवा में जोड़ करवों ना
अवकी गुनहिया सीतल माफ करीह हो मलहोरिन वेसवे ना
मईया मोरी नजरी चलवलीं हो मलहोरिन वेसवे ना

Shitala goes to pick flowers

—O mother, what is the basket made of, what is the hook made of, in which guise (do you go to pick flowers)
—In which guise does my mother go to pick flowers
—In which guise does Shitala go to pick flowers
—O mother, your basket is made of gold, the hook is made of silver, in the guise of a gardening woman (you go to pick flowers)
—My mother goes to pick flowers, in the guise of a gardening woman
—Shitala goes to pick flowers in the guise of a gardening woman
—On this side mother Shitala is picking flowers (and) on that side
—The king's son was staring on that side
—(Shitala says)—O son of the king, how dare you stare at me, I will smite you (with small pox)
—O son of the king, I will smite your body
—(King's son says)—O Shitala, please excuse this error (because you were) in the guise of a gardening woman
—O mother, I stared at you (because) you were in the guise of a gardening woman

सुरहुर फेंड़वा खजूरिया ए अल्ला

सुरहुर फेंड़वा खजूरिया ए अल्ला ए खजूरिया ए अल्ला
अल्ला ताही चढ़ी हेरे वीवी हजरत ए अल्ला ए वीवी हजरत ए अल्ला
नईहरा में सिझले जउरिया ए अल्ला ए जउरिया ए अल्ला
अल्ला ससुरा में अईले गमकिया ए अल्ला ए गमकिया ए अल्ला
देहू ना सासु ढकनिया ए अल्ला ए ढकनिया ए अल्ला
अल्ला अगिए वहनवें नईहर जाईव ए अल्ला ए नईहर जाईव ए अल्ला
भउजी जे उठली दरप से ए अल्ला ए दरप से ए अल्ला
अल्ला चूल्हीए खंखोरी अगिया दिहली ए अल्ला ए दिहली ए अल्ला
अम्मां जे उठली दरप से ए अल्ला ए दरप से ए अल्ला
अल्ला पांच पूड़िया डलली खोईछवा ए अल्ला ए खोईछवा ए अल्ला
ढकनी जे गिरले चउघटिया ए अल्ला ए चउघटिया ए अल्ला
अल्ला वड़ा चोट लगले ठेहुनिया ए अल्ला ए ठेहुनिया ए अल्ला
वावा खाऊं भईया खाऊं वहुअवा ए अल्ला ए वहुअवा ए अल्ला
अल्ला ढकनी के दुःख मोहे दिहलू ए अल्ला ए दिहलू ए अल्ला

बाट जे चलत बटोहिया ए अल्ला ए बटोहिया ए अल्ला
अल्ला हमरो संदेसा लेले जइह ए अल्ला ए ले ले जइह ए अल्ला
इहो संदेसवा जे बाबा समुझईह ए अल्ला ए समुझईह ए अल्ला
अल्ला ढकनी कारण धिया बनवासल ए अल्ला ए धिया बनवासल ए अल्ला
एतना जे सुनलन मोरो बाबा ए अल्ला ए मोरो भईया ए अल्ला
अल्ला देसे देसे ढकनी बेसहलन ए अल्ला ए ढकनी बेसहलन ए अल्ला
आगे आगे आवे ढकनी बरधिया ए अल्ला ए ढकनी बरधिया ए अल्ला
अल्ला ताही पीछे आवे शहिजद भईया ए अल्ला ए शहिजद भईया ए अल्ला
कंहवा उतारव ढकनी बरधिया ए अल्ला ए ढकनी बरधिया ए अल्ला
अल्ला कंहवां उतारव शहिजद भईया ए अल्ला ए शहिजद भईया ए अल्ला
अंगने उतारव ढकनी बरधिया ए अल्ला ए ढकनी बरधिया ए अल्ला
अल्ला अंचरे उतारव शहिजद भईया ए अल्ला ए शहिजद भईया ए अल्ला
काई देई समदव ढकनी बरधिया ए अल्ला ए ढकनी बरधिया ए अल्ला
अल्ला काई देई समदव शहिजद भईया ए अल्ला ए शहिजद भईया ए अल्ला
टका चार देवों ढकनी बरधिया ए अल्ला ए ढकनी बरधिया ए अल्ला
छोटकी ननदिया शहिजद भईया ए अल्ला ए शहिजद भईया ए अल्ला

O Allah the date tree is erect

—O Allah, the date tree is erect
—O Allah, Bibi Hazrat having climbed on it, is seeing (that)
—(In her) parents' place rice pudding (*khir*) is being cooked, O Allah
—O Allah, the smell is coming in (Bibi Hazrat's) in-law's place
—(Bibi Hazrat says)—O mother-in-law, give me a *dhakani*[32], O Allah
—O Allah, I will go to my parents' place pretending to get fire
—O Allah, (my) brother's wife got up proudly,
—O Allah, she scrapped the oven (completely) and gave (me) the fire
—(My) mother got up proudly, O Allah
—O Allah, she put five *puris*[33] in (my) *anchal*[34]
—(But) the bowl (*dhakani*) fell on the threshold
—O Allah, I hurt my knee badly
—(Mother-in-law says)—O daughter-in-law, I hope your father drops dead (and) I hope your brother drops dead
—O Allah you agonised me by (breaking) (my) *dhakani* (Daughter-in-law was forced to leave her in-laws' house)
—(Daughter-in-law says)—O Wayfarer walking along the road

—O Allah, deliver my message to my father
—And make my father understand this message, O Allah
—O Allah, (your) daughter has been ousted (from her in-laws' house) because (she has broken) the bowl (*dhakani*)
—(When) my father heard this, (when) my brother heard this, O Allah
—O Allah, they bought bowls (*dhakani*) from different provinces (Then the brother came with an ox laden with bowls (*dhakani*)
—O Allah, an ox laden with bowls (*dhakani*) arrived first (and)
—O Allah, behind it my Shahzada brother came
—O Allah, where will I receive the ox laden with bowls (*dhakani*)
—O Allah, where will I receive brother Shahzada
—O Allah, I will receive the ox laden with bowls (*dhakani*) in the courtyard
—O Allah, I will receive brother Shahzada in my *anchal*[35]
—O Allah, how can I be hospitable to the laden ox
—O Allah, how can I be hospitable to brother Shahzada
—O Allah, I will give four paisa to the laden ox (and)
—O Allah, my husband's youngest sister to brother Shahzada

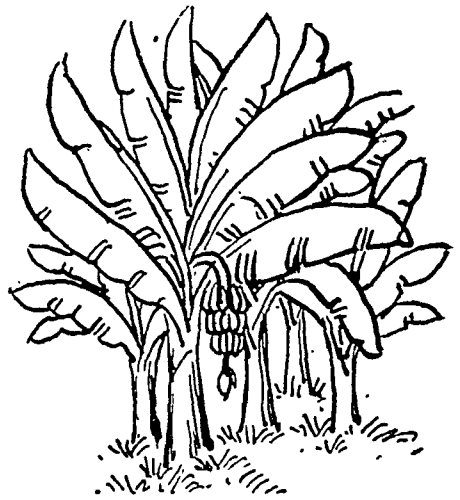
सुकवार बेटी

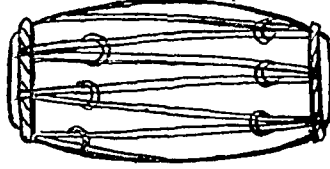
पान अस पातरि बेटी फूलो से सुकवार
कइसे कइसे जइबू हो बेटी सातों नदी पार
बावें जइहें लोकनि दहिने जेठ भाई
प्रभुजी के दहिन बहियां सिरहनवें धईले जाई
सुनु सुनु लोकनि सुनहू जेठ भाई
समधिनजी से कहिह हो लोकनि अरज हमारी
राते जनि मरिहें पराते जनि गारी
बारी निंदिए धिया जनि जगईहें धिया सुकवारी
सुनु सुनु लोकनि सुनहू जेठ भाई
समधिन जी से कहिह हो लोकनि अरज हमारी
राते हम मरवों पराते देवों गारी
बारी निंदिए हम जगईवों पूत बहुआरी

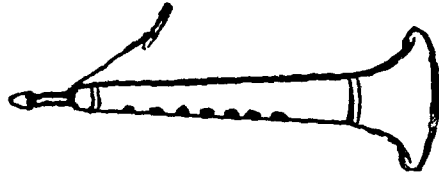
Delicate daughter

(Bride's mother says)
—O daughter, you are as slender as a betel leaf[36] and more delicate than a flower
—O daughter, how will you go across the seven rivers[37]
—(Daughter says) On my left will go my maidservant and on my right will be my elder brother
—(My) husband's right arm will be at the head of the bed
—(Then her mother says) listen, O maidservant, listen O elder brother
—Inform the groom's mother of my request
—She should not beat (my daughter) at night nor abuse her in the morning
—(My) daughter is delicate, do not awaken her before she has fully slept
—(Then groom's mother says) listen, O maidservant, listen O elder brother
—Inform the bride's mother of my answer
—I will beat her at night and abuse her in morning
—I will awaken her before she has fully slept, she is my son's wife

केदली बने

कथिनी के ऊजे खाट रे खटोलवा केदली वने
अगे माई कथी छाने लगले चारों पउआ त सभ रंग केदली वने
सोननि के ऊजे खाट रे खटोलवा केदली वने
अगे माई रूपे छाने लगले चारों पउआ त सभ रंग केदली वने
ताही पलंगे सुतले मियां हो अली शेर केदली वने
अगे माई जवरे सुतली वीवी नाजो त सभ रंग केदली वने
ओते चलु ओते चलु मियां हो अली शेर केदली वने
अगे माई पाट चोलिया भिजले पसेनवा त सभ रंग केदली वने
भींजे देहू भींजे देहू रेशम चोलिया केदली वने
अगे माई धोवी घरे देवंव धोआई त सभ रंग केदली वने
धोविआ जे धोअला गंगा रे जमुना दह केदली वने
अगे माई भुरवेला मेंहदी के डाढ़ त सभ रंग केदली वने
अगे माई भुरवेला दवना के डाढ़ त सभ रंग केदली वने
वाट जे पूछले वटोहिया ए भईया केदली वने
अगे माई केकर रमली भुराला त सभ रंग केदली वने
हमरा जे वाड़ी हो वीवी नाजो देई केदली वने
अगे माई ओनकर रमली भुराला त सभ रंग केदली वने

In the Banana grove

—What is the cot made of, in the banana grove[38]
—O mother, what are its four legs tied with, all colours (are) in the banana grove
—The cot is made of gold, in the banana grove
—O mother, its four legs are tied with silver, all colours (are) in the banana grove
—On the cot Miyan Ali Sher sleeps, in the banana grove
—O mother, Bibi Nazo sleeps with him, all colours (are) in the banana grove
—(Bibi Nazo says)—Keep away, keep away Miyan Ali Sher, in the banana grove
—O mother, my silken blouse is soaked with sweat, all colours (are) in the banana grove
—(Miyan Ali Sher says) let your silken blouse remain soaked, in the banana grove
—O mother, I will have it cleaned at the washerman's place, all colours (are) in the banana grove
—The washerman cleans it in the Ganga and Yamuna rivers, in the banana grove
—O mother, dried it on a branch of henna plant, all colours (are) in the banana grove
—O mother, dried it on a branch of *davana* bush, all colours (are) in the banana grove
—A wayfarer asked, O brother, in the banana grove
—O mother, whose blouse is being dried, all colours (are) in the banana grove
—We have a (lady) Bibi Nazo, in the banana grove
—O mother, her blouse is being dried, all colours (are) in the banana grove

लाल खंड़ाउ वाला वर

लालि खंड़उग्रा तोर कवन दुलहा ग्रटर चटर करे
खोजले उन्नर सुन्नर खोजले राजा धियवा हो
खोजले ईटी धौरहर मानिक दीप जरे
मिलि गइले उन्नर सुन्नर मिली गइले राजा धियवा हो
मिली गइले ईटी धौरहर मानिक दीप जरे
ग्रोरिग्रानी ग्रोरिग्रानी सासु झांके मोरी धियवा पाटी सोवे
किया बावू दान दहेज थोर किया हमरो जाति ग्रोछ
किया बावू धिया मोर घिनावन काहे रे मन वेदिल
नाहिं सासु दान दहेज थोर नाहिं सासु जाति ग्रोछ
नाहिं सासु धिया रउरी घिनावन नाहिं रे मन वेदिल
ग्रसीहीं कोसे हम ग्रइलीं बटिए हराई गइलीं
पालक के झकझोरल नींदे वैरन भइलीं

Bridegroom with red wooden sandals

—Bridegroom............[39] your red *khadau*[40] goes clickety clack
—(You are) searching for beauty (and) searching for a king's daughter
—(You are) searching for a brick minaret (with) a ruby lamp burning
—(You) found a beauty (and) (you) found a king's daughther
—(You) found a brick minaret (with) a ruby lamp burning
—The mother of the bride is peeping from the side of the building,(and says to herself) "my daughter is sleeping on the side board of the bed"
—(The mother of the bride asks the bride groom)—What is the matter son, did not I give you enough dowry (or) am I of a lower caste (than you)
—What is the matter son, is my daughter ugly ? Why are you brooding
—(Bridegroom says)—No mother-in-law (your) dowry is not meagre and your caste is not low
—No mother-in-law, your daughter is not ugly (and) (I am) not brooding
—I came eighty *kos*[41] (and) on the way I became completely exhausted
—(Because) the shaking of the palanquin (was such) that sleep became my enemy

करम बदलल ना जाए

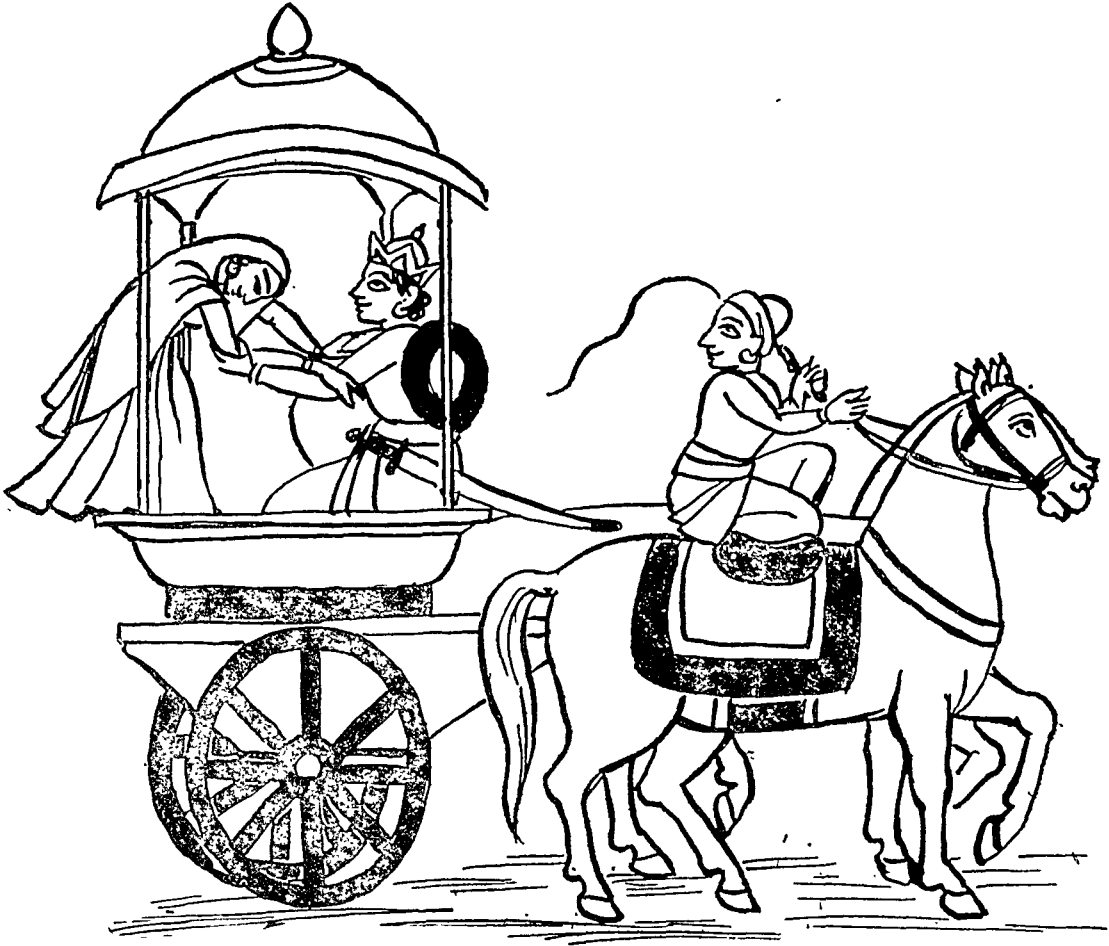
लीली लीली घोड़वा चेलिक असवरवा बाबा के ठकुरी बहूत
इहो ठकुरइया हो बाबा हमें ना सोहाला हम बेटी दु:खी बहूत
आव आव बेटी हो जांघ चढ़ि वईठ दु:ख सुख कह समुझाइ
कवन कवन दु:ख तोहरा हो बेटो उघटेलू ठकुरी हमार
पाट पितांवर बाबा मोरो अभरनवां दूधहिं घीव असनान
मेवा मिठाई बाबा मोरो जेवनरवा
बालक रउरो दमाद
ऊंचहिं खेत बेटी कांकर बोईला
रने वन पसरेला ढाक
कंकरी के बतिया बेटी देखतो सोहावन
ना जानों तीत कि मीठ
ऊंचहिं घर बेटी तोहरो विआह कइलीं
ना जनलीं सुख कि दु:ख
कुंईया जे रहितू बेटी फेन के उरेहतीं
समुद्र उरेहल नाहिं जाय
कांस पीतर बेटी फेन के बदलतीं
करम बदलल नाहिं जाय

Fate can not be exchanged

(Daughter says)

—On a blue horse is a handsome rider, father's estate is very large
—O father, I do not like this estate. I, the daughter, am very sad
—Come, come O daughter, sit on my lap speak to me and explain your unhappiness
—O daughter, what is troubling you that you are grumbling about my estate
—O father, my garments are of yellow silk I bathe in milk and *ghee*[12]
—I have dried fruits and sweets for my meals
—(But) your son-in-law is a simpleton
—O daughter, I planted cucumber in a raised plot
—And it spread all around
—O daughter, a small cucumber is beautiful to look at
—(But) I do not know whether it is sweet or bitter
—O daughter, I gave you in marriage to a highly placed family
—(But) did not know the inner secrets of that family
—O daughter, if you would have been a well, I would have desilted it again
—(But) an ocean cannot be desilted
—O daughter, if (your fate) would have been of bronze or brass I would have exchanged it
—But fate cannot be exchanged

रुकमिनी के विग्राह

देश कुंडिनपुर नगर वसतु हैं
ऊ देशवा ग्रनुराग हे
ऊंहवा के धियवा वाड़ी हो रानी रुकमिनी
शिशुपाल से होखला बिग्राह हे
भितरहिं चिठिया लिखलि रानी रुकमिनी
दिहली में विप्रजी के हाथ हे
इहो चिठिया विप्र मथुरा बंचईह
जहां कृष्ण पढ़ले पुरान हे
छोटी मुटी गछिया कदम जुड़ छंहियां
तहां कृष्ण पढ़ले पुरान हे
बांवा हाथे विप्र जे चिठिया जे दिहले
दहिना हाथे करले सलाम हे

देश कुंडिनपुर नगर वसतु है
ऊ देशवा अनुराग हे
ऊंहवा के धियवा वाड़ी हो रानी रुकमिनी
शिशुपाल से होखला विश्राह हे
एतना वचन कृष्ण सुनहूं ना पावले
रथ जोति भईले तैयार हे
काहे लागि माता हो माघ नहईलीं
काहे लागि कईलीं एतवार हे
काहे लागि माता कठिन व्रत कईलीं
वर मिलले शिशुपाल हे
धर्म लागि एहो बेटी माघ नेहईलू
पूत लागि कईलू एतवार हे
जस लागि एहो बेटी कठिन व्रत कईलू
वर मिलले शिशुपाल हे
तोरा लेखे माता हो शिशुपाल दुलरुआ
मोरा लेखे आदी गुलाम हे
सवरे सखी मिलि देवी भवानी के पूजें
तहां कृष्ण रथ लेले ठाढ़ हे
हंथवा पकड़ कृष्ण रुकमिनी चढ़वले
शिशुपाल से लेले लड़ाई हे

The Wedding of Rukmini

—In (this) country there is city (named) Kundinpur
—It is a country full of affection
—The queen (meant princess here) Rukmini is a girl from there
—She is to be married to Shishupal
—Queen Rukmini wrote a letter in her quarters and handed over the letter to a Brahman
—(And said) "O Brahman have this letter read in Mathura where Krishna reads the *Puran*"
—In the cool shade of a small *kadamb*[43] tree
—Krishna reads the *Puran* there
—The Brahman delivered the letter to Krishna by his left hand
—(And) with his right hand he greeted him
—(The Brahman said)—in (this) country there is a city (named) Kundinpur
—It is a country full of affection
—The queen (meant princess here) Rukmini is a girl from there
—She is going to be married to Shishupal
—Krishna could not bear to hear these words
—He (immediately) yoked the chariot
—(Rukmini asked her mother)—O mother, for what (purpose) did I bathe
during the month of *Magh*[44]

—For what purpose did I worship the Sun God
—O mother, for what purpose did I do a severe fast
—(Yet) Shishupal is going to marry me
—(Mother answers)—O daughter, you bathed during the month of *Magh* as a religious obligation
—You worshipped the Sun God (to obtain) a son
—O daughter, you fasted severely to get fame
—(And) Shishupal is going to marry you
—For you, O mother, Shishupal is near and dear
—(But) for me he is a slave
—Rukmini went with all her friends to worship the goddess Bhawani
—Where Krishna was standing with his chariot
—Krishna having taken her hand helped her in the chariot
—A battle took place with Shishupal

बेटी के दहेज

एकहिं राजा के चार बिटियवा
चारिहूं बारि कुंश्रार
चारों के बिश्रहव एके मंड़उश्रा
एकहिं लगन विचार
बड़की के बिश्रहव लंका के राजा
मंझली गोपीचन्द साथ
संझली के बिश्रहव ईसर महादेव
छोटकी बिश्राहव श्रीराम
लंका के राजा के बाजन बाजे
गोपीचन्द हनले निशान
ईसरा महादेव के धूधूक बाजे
मुरली बजावें श्रीराम
जब बरिश्रात नगर बीच श्रईले
बाबा के हुलसे करेज
सबहिं के बिश्रहव एके मंड़उश्रा
दस पांच धिया श्रउरी होति हे
जब बरिश्रतिया दुश्रार बीच श्रईले
श्रम्मां के हुलसे करेज हे
सबहिं के बिश्रहव एके मंड़उश्रा
दस पांच धिया श्रउरी होति हे
जब बरिश्रतिया श्रंगन बीच श्रईले
मांगे लगले नौ लाख दहेज हे
घर में के भंडा दुश्रारि पर पटकली
शत्रु के धिया जनि होय हे
जब हम जनतीं धिया कोखि श्रईहें
पीश्रतों में मरिच झलाय हे
मरिच के झाले झूले धिया मरि जईती
मिटि जइते हरष बिषाद हे
डांसल सेजिश्रा उड़ास भलु दिहतीं
स्वामी जी से रहितीं छिपाय हे

Dowry for daughters

—There was a king who had four daughters
—All four were unmarried
—All four were to be married in one *mandap*
—At the same auspicious time
—(The King says) the eldest he will give in marriage to the king of Lanka
—The second to Gopichand[15]
—The third will be married to Lord Mahadev (Lord Shiva)
—The youngest I will give in marriage to Sri Ram
—(When the marriage party came) the king of Lanka's musicians were playing
—Gopichand's (musicians) were playing on *nishan*[16]
—The horn of Lord Mahadeva was being played
—Sri Rama was playing the flute
—When the marriage party reached the centre of the city
—The father's heart was filled with joy
—(The king said—I would) give in marriage in one *mandap*
—(If) I would have five or ten more daughters
—When the marriage party reached the door
—The mother's heart was filled with joy
—(The queen says—I would) give in marriage in one *mandap*
—(If) I would have five or ten more daughters
—When the marriage party reached the courtyard
—They demanded a dowry of 9,00,000 (rupees)
—(The bride's mother) threw a big pot of the house at the door
—(And said)—even an enemy should not get a daughter
—If I had known that I would give birth to a daughter
—I (would have) drunk (a solution of) black pepper[17]
—The strength of the black pepper would have killed the girl
—And would have erased my sorrow and happiness
—I would have removed (our) bed
—And would have hidden myself from my husband

बरात

किया दल उतरे वाग वगईचा
किया दल उतरे फूलवारि
किया दल उतरे राजा पोखरवा
छेंकले मोरो पनीघाट
नाहीं दल उतरे वाग वगईचा
नाहीं दल उतरे फूलवारि
ई दल उतरे..........समधी दुग्ररा
छेंकले पानी पनीघाट
ग्रपना दरवरिया से बोलले..........समधी
समधी से ग्ररज हमार
एहिजा ले समधी ग्रोठंईया दल उतरीं
छोड़ि देहिं मोरो पनीघाट
ग्रपना वरिग्रतिया से तड़पले..........समधी
सुनु समधी वचन हमार
धावहू ग्रांयख धावहू पांयख लूटहु जनक रनिवास
वाहर लूटिह गाई रे भईसिग्रा
भीतर सहना भंडार
कोहवर लूटिह सुहवा..........देई
जेहि देख नयना जुड़ाई

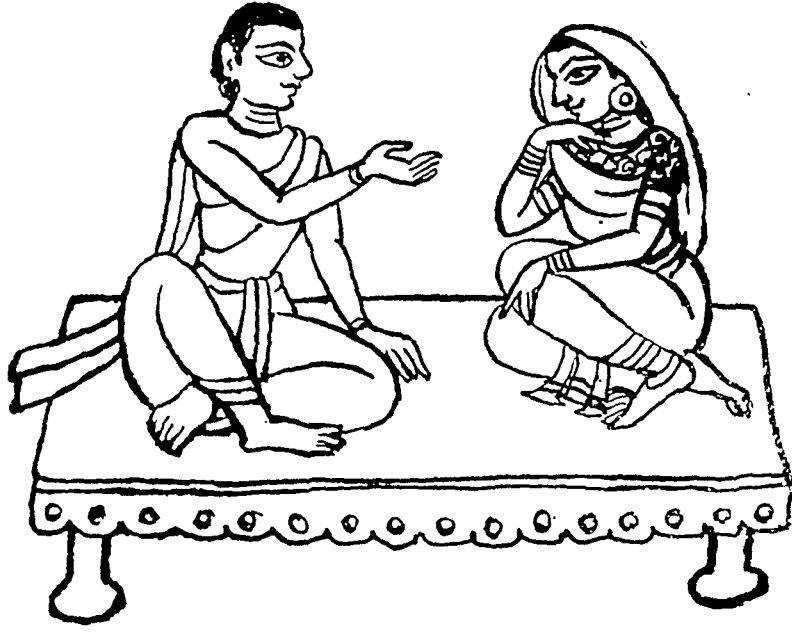
Marriage Party

—(A woman asks)—Is this wedding party going to tarry in the orchard
—(Or) is this party going to tarry in the flower garden
—(Or) is this party going to tarry at the side of the king's pond
—(Then) it will prevent me from drawing water at the side of the pond
—(A man from the party replies)—no, this party is not going to tarry in the orchard
—No, this party is not going to tarry in the flower garden
—This party is going to tarry at the door of *Samadhi*[18]...............
—This party is going to prevent (you) from drawing water at the side of the pond
—*Samadhi*[19]........ (the father of the bride, heard this and) spoke from his own residence
—This is, my request to the *Samadhi* (groom's father)
—O *Samadhi*, please take your wedding party over there
—Please leave my side of the pond
—*Samadhi* (the groom's father)[50]............... shouted from his wedding party
—O *Samadhi* (bride's father) listen to my words
(groom's father addressed his own party)
—Run, run plunder Janak's women's quarters
—(You should) plunder from outside cows and buffaloes
—(And) from inside valuables
—From the bride's room (you should) steal the bride........[51]
—And whoever lays eyes on her will be pleased

झिलमिल सरोवर

पर्वत ऊपर वाजन वाजे लंका में होखेला इंजोर
किया राजा मारले वाघ से सिघवा किया राजा खेलले ग्रहेर
नाहि राजा मारले वाघ से सिघवा नाहि राजा खेलले ग्रहेर
राजा भीखमजी के वारी विग्रहवा नौ लाख मांगले दहेज
गईया में दिहलीं वेटी भंइसिया में दिहलीं वरहो वरध धेनु गाय
एतना दहेज हम वेटी के दिहलीं काहे लागि रूसले दमाद
गईया में दिहलीं वावा भंईसिया में दिहलीं वरहो वरध धेनु गाय
एक नाहि दिहलीं वावा झिलझिल सरोवर सरोवर लागि रूसले दमाद
गईया में दिहलीं वेटी भंईसिया में दिहलीं वरहो वरध धेनु गाय
एक नाहि देवों वेटी झिलमिल सरोवर गईया पिग्रली जूड़ पानी
एतना वचन जव सुनले..........भईया उठले पटुकवा झहराय
दे देहू ए वावा झिलमिल सरोवर वहिनी करिहें ग्रसनान
सरोवर पईसी नेहईवों ए वावा ग्ररश सुखईवों लांवी केस
वाट जे पूछिहें वटोहिया ए वावा लेवों वावाहीं जी के नांव

Shimmering pool

—On a mountain music is being played and Lanka[52] is illuminated
—Has the king killed the tiger and the lion (or) has he been hunting
—The king has neither killed the tiger and the lion nor has he been hunting
—King Bhikhamji[53] is getting married for the first time (and) he is demanding nine lakhs as dowry
—O daughter, I gave you cows and buffaloes and a full herd of cattle with *Kamdhenu*[54]
—I gave my daughter such (a large) dowry, why is my son-in-law displeased
—O father (you) gave me cows and buffaloes and a full herd of cattle with *Kamdhenu*
—(But there is) one thing (you) didn't give me, (that is) a shimmering pool; for that pool your son-in-law is displeased
—O daughter, I gave you cows and buffaloes and a full herd of cattle with *Kamdhenu*
—O daughter, I will not give you the shimmering pool (because) cows drink water there
—When brother........[55] heard these words he got up instantly with his sash fluttering
—O father, you must give the shimmering pool to sister, she will bathe (in it)
—(Daughter says) O father, I will enter the pool and bathe and dry my long hair on the bank
—O father, if wayfarers should ask (whose pool it is) I will give your name.

बहिनिया काहे हार अईल

अरे कंहवा ही छूड़िया गढ़ावल इंगुरे ढरावल वाड़े
कवन दुलहा दुलरूआ के छूरिया त कंहवा विजईया भईले
अगे माई………में छूड़िया गढ़ावल इंगुरे ढरावल वाड़े
अगे माई………दुलहा दुलरुआ के छूड़िया त………विजईया भईले
अरे अरे भईया………भईया तीर धनुही तान लीह
अहो भईया आवत वाड़े वहनोईया त कूर खेते लड़ईया लीहें
सगर दिन भईया जीति अईले सांझ वेरिया हार गईले
अरे भईया हार गईल………अईसन वहिनी वहिनिया काहे हार अईल
अरे भईया हरित में गाई रे भंईसिया वहिनिया काहे हारि अईल
अरे अरे वहिनी………वहिनी मति रउरा भूल गईलीं
अरे वहिनी गईया रे भंईसिया मोरो लछमी वहिनिया त पराया घरवा
अरे भईया हरित में जांघ के तिरियवा वहिनिया काहे हार अईल
अरे अरे वहिनी………वहिनी मति रउरा भूल गईलीं
जांघ के तिरियवा मोरो घरनी त रउरो जाइव पराया घरवा

Why did you lose your sister

—O, where was the knife made and coated with vermilion
—Who is that beloved bridegroom who (owns) this knife, where was he victorious
—O mother at........[56] was the knife made and coated with vermilion
—O mother, the dear bridegroom........[57] (owns) this knife and at........[58] he was victorious
—O brother,........[59] prepare the bow and arrows
—O brother, brother-in-law is coming and he will fight with you on the outskirts of the village
—Brother won the battle during the day but in the evening he was defeated
—O brother, you lost a sister like........[60]why did you lose the sister
—O brother, you should have lost cows and buffaloes, why did you lose the sister
—(Brother answers) O sister........[61] you have lost your senses
—O sister, cows and buffaloes are my wealth (but) a sister (belongs) to another's house
—O brother, you should have lost your wife,[62] why did you lose your sister
—O sister........[63] you have lost your senses
—The woman who sits on my lap is my wife (but) you will go to another's house.

बाबा के घरवा राखि लेवों

हाथी साजों घोड़ा साजों, साजों ए........बावा
बावा अतिभल साजों बरिअतिया ससुर घरवा लूटि अईवों
सेहो सुनी........बेटी लारो ना घोंटली बारो ना बान्हली
माई हे कईसे कईसे पिया परवोधवों वावा के घरवा राखि लेवों
अंचरा विछाई देवों बेनिया डोलाई देवों
माई हे अईसे अईसे पिया परवोधवों वावा के घरवा राखि लेवों

Will save my father's house

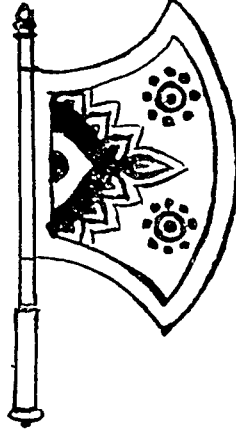
—O father........[64] prepare the elephants, prepare the horses
—O father, prepare the marriage party so well that (we) can plunder the father-in-law's house
—After hearing this the daughter............[65] could not (even) swallow (her own) spit, (and) could not tie (her) hair[66]
—O mother, how can I make my husband understand so that my father's house will be saved
—I will spread my *anchal* and will take care of him[67]
—O mother, this way I will make my husband understand and my father's house will be saved

शूकर के विश्राह

शूकर जे चलले विश्राह रे करे
सन सोहगईला ए शूकर घरे छूटि रे जास
श्रोहिजा ले शूकर घरे चलि श्रइले
श्रम्मां श्रम्मां रे पुकार
श्रम्मां मुंखहूं ना रे बोले
श्रम्मां कठउती पीए रे मांड़
किया तोरा श्रम्मां हो भात केरा दु:ख
किया तोरा दाल रे थोर
किया तोरा श्रम्मां हो तिश्रना के दु:ख भइले
काहे कठउती पीएलू मांड़
नाहीं मोरा बाबू हो भात केरा दु:ख भइले
नाहीं मोरा दाल रे थोर
परके जमलका ए बाबू श्रावत रे बाड़ी
मंड़वा दिहन कि दो ना
जब तोरा श्रम्मां हो मंड़वा के रे दु:ख
भलु शूकर रहिहें कुंश्रार

Shukra's marriage

—Shukra goes to get married
—Shukra left behind the *San Sohagaila*[68] at his home
—Shukra returned home from there
—(He) called (his) mother
—(His) mother did not answer
—(His) mother is drinking[69] *mand* from a large pot[70]
—(Shukra asks)–O mother, don't you have enough rice to eat
—Do you have a meagre amount of *dal* ?
—O mother, don't you have enough vegetables
—Why are you drinking rice water from this large pot
—O my son, I don't have a meagre supply of rice
—I don't have a meagre supply of *dal*
—O son, some one else's offspring is coming
—(I do not know) whether she will give (me) rice water or not
—(Shukra says)—O mother if you will not get rice water (just because of her)
—Then Shukra prefers to remain unmarried.

सोने केरा वेनिया

कथी केरे वेनिया रे वेनिया कथिए लागल डांड़ी
कथिए ढरावल ए वेनिया जईवे वड़ी रे दूर
सोने केरा वेनिया रे वेनिया रूपे लागल डांड़ी
ईगुरे ढरावल ए बेनिया जईवे वड़ी रे दूर
वान्हल वाड़े संकरा लडुग्रवा ग्रंवटल वाड़े दूध
ग्ररे खाई नाहीं लेहू........दुलहा जईव वड़ी रे दूर
वाहर हवेलिया........दुलहा घोड़ा दउड़ावे
भीतरी हवेलिया........वेटी रोदना पसारे
छोड़ी देहू एहो सुहवा नईहर माया मोह
लागी जाहू एहो सुहवा हमरो सनेह
कईसे में छोड़ीं प्रभु नईहर माया मोह
वूढ़ी मतरिया हो प्रभु तेजलो ना जाय
वालक भईग्रवा हो प्रभु तेजलो ना जाय
वूढ़ी मतरिया हो सुहवा लहरा पटोर
वालक भईग्रवा हो सुहवा चढ़ने के घोड़

Golden fan

—What is the fan made of, what is its handle made of
—What is it coated with, O fan, you will have to go very far
—The fan is made of gold, its handle is made of silver
—It is coated with vermilion, O fan, you will have to go very far.
—The sweetmeats are prepared, the milk is hot
—O bridegroom........[71] why don't you take them, you will have to go very far
—Outside the house bridegroom........[72] seated on the horse, is ready to leave
—Inside the house bride........[73] is weeping
—(Bridegroom says) O bride, leave this affection for your parentrs home
—(And) O bride, be attached to me
—(Bride says) O lord (husband), how can I break this attachment (to my parents)
—O lord (husband) it is not possible for me to leave my old mother
—O lord (husband) it is not possible for me to leave my little brother
—(Groom says) O bride, (I will give) a *sari* to (your) old mother
—O bride, (I will give) a horse to (your) little brother.

बहिनिया बिना ना सोभे रे मंड़वा

मचिवा वईठल........वहिनी कउवा उचरावली
ए कव भईश्रा श्रइहें लिश्रावन रे चंदवा, वहिनिया विना ना सोभे रे मंड़वा
सवासिन विना ना सोभे रे मंड़वा
केरे जइहें पूरुव देसवा केरे जइहें पछिम देसवा केरे जइहें वहिनी लिश्रावन रे चंदवा
बहिनिया विना ना सोभे रे मंड़वा सवासिन विना ना सोभे रे मंड़वा
भईया पूरुव देसवा........भईया पछिम देसवा........भईया वहिनी लिश्रावन रे चंदवा
वहिनिया विना ना सोभे रे मंड़वा सवासिन विना ना सोभे रे मंड़वा
एक मोरा गोदे हो भईया दोसर मोरे कांखे हो भईया तीसरे में गरुश्रा संतापे हो भईया
वहिनिया विना ना सोभे रे मंड़वा सवासिन विना ना सोभे रे मंड़वा
एक लेवों गोदे हो वहिनी दोसर लेवों कांखे हो वहिनी तीसरे के डंड़िया फनईवों ए वहिनी
वहिनिया विना ना सोभे रे मंड़वा सवासिन विना ना सोभे रे मंड़वा

There is no beauty in the *mandap* without sister

—Sister........[74] is sitting on a stool and asks the crow
—(O crow) when will my brother come to fetch me, O moon, there is no beauty in the *mandap* without sister
—There is no beauty in the *mandap* without married girls
—Who will go to the eastern provinces, who will go to the western provinces, O moon, who will go to fetch the sister
—There is no beauty in the *mandap* without sister, there is no beauty in the *mandap* without married girls
—Brother........[75] (will go to the) eastern provinces, brother........[76] (will go to the) western provinces, O moon, brother........[77] will go to fetch the sister
—There is no beauty in the *mandap* without sister, there is no beauty in the *mandap* without married girls
—(Sister says) one (child) is on my lap, another is in my arm, O brother, the third I am still bearing
—There is no beauty in the *mandap* without sister, there is no beauty in the *mandap* without married girls
—(Brother says) O sister, I will take one on my lap, another in my arm, o sister, for the third I will arrange a palanquin
—There is no beauty in the *mandap* without sister, there is no beauty in the *mandap* without married girls

फूल बैंगनियां

केकरा अंगनवां चननवा के गछिया, चननवा के वास सुवास
केकरा अंगनवां ए फूल बैंगनियां, फुलवा झरिए झरी जाए
........अंगनवां चननवा के गछिया, चननवा के वास सुवास
........अंगनवां ए फूल बैंगनियां, फुलवा झरिए झरी जाए
घोड़वा चढ़ल आवै........दुलहा, फूल देखि रहले लोभाय
एकहिं फुलवा दहेज हम लेवों, करवों में रंग व्यापार
हथवा जोड़िए जोड़ि ठड़ा भईले........ससुर, दुलहा से अरज हमार
एकहिं फुलवा के दुई हम देवों, धियवा विआह मोरी लेहू
एतना वचन जव सुनली........सुहवा, झट देना दिहली जवाव
राउर वावा प्रभु वड़ा रे धनढवा, काहे ना लवले फूलवार
अपना के रंगव प्रभु लाली चुनरिया, भईया रंगईहें सिर पाग
एतना वचन जव सुनले........दुलहा, घोड़े पीठि भइले असवार
राउर धिया ससुर हम ना विआहव, हमरा संगे करली जवाव
हथवा जोड़िए जोड़ि वोलले........ससुर, दुलहा से अरज हमार
हमर धिया वावू वुधि लरिकईया, रउरा संगे करली जवाव

Violet flowers

—In whose garden is the sandalwood tree, the sandalwood smells fragrantly
—In whose garden is the violet flower plant the flowers are always falling
—In (bridegroom's father)...........[78] 's courtyard is the sandalwood tree, the sandalwood smells fragrantly
—In (bride's father)...........[79] 's courtyard is the violet flower plant, the flowers are always falling
—Bridegroom...........[80] came riding on horse-back, was captivated on seeing the flower
—(Bridegroom says to his father-in-law) I shall take one flower in dowry and I will enter the dyeing business
—Father-in-law...........[81] stood with folded hands (and said), O bridegroom, this is my request
—I will give you two flowers (instead of) one, (but please) marry my daughter
—As soon as the bride........[82] heard these words, she immediately retorted
—(Addressing groom)–O lord, your father is a rich man, why didn't he plant a flower garden
—O lord, I will dye a red *chunrai*[83] and brother will get his turban dyed (with these flowers)
—As soon as the groom........[84] heard these words, he mounted the horse
—(And said) O father-in-law, I will not marry your daughter, she is snappy with me
—Father-in-law....... [85] spoke with folded hands, O bridegroom, this is my request
—O son, my daughter is being only childish (that is why), she was sharp with you.

चम्पा के चोरी

कंहवा हीं चम्पवा फुलाई गईले कंहवा हीं विहंसले
अगे माई कवन दुलहा दुलरुआ चम्पा चोरावले
चोरवा के वेष धईले
........चम्पवा फुलाई गईले........में विहंसले
अगे माई........दुलहा दुलरुआ चम्पा चोरावले
चोरवा के वेष धईले
सोनवा मंढ़ईवों धनि के कोखिया जाहि कोखि बेटा जनमे
बेटा से पतोह अईले घर मोरा भर गईले
अगे माई भरि गईले वाग रे वगईचा वावा के घरवा भर गईले
भूंसवे भरईवों धनि के कोखिया जाहि कोखि वेटी भईले
वेटी से दमाद अईले घर मोरा सुन्न भईले
अगे माई सुन्न भईले वाग रे वगईचा वावा के घरवा सुन्न भईले

Theft of *champa* flower

—Where did *champa*[86] flower blossom and where did it laugh
—O mother, who is the beloved bridegroom, who has stolen the *champa* flower
—(While) in the guise of a thief
—The *champa* flower blossomed at........[87] and it laughed at........[88]
—O mother, the beloved groom........[89] has stolen the *champa* flower
—(While) in the guise of a thief
—(Groom's father says)–I will gild the womb of my wife with gold, the womb in which the son was born
—The daughter–in–law came through my son; my house is now filled
—O mother, my garden is filled and my father's home is filled
—(Bride's father says)–I will fill the womb of my wife with straw, the womb in which the daughter was born
—Through the daughter the son–in–law came (and took my daughter away); my house is now empty
—O mother, the garden is empty and my father's home is empty

काहे रे बोलले बन काग

पातर राम चउक चढ़ि बईठे काहे बोलेला वन काग
आव हो व्यास मुनि चउक चढ़ि बईठ काहे बोलले वन काग
राम के धोतिया असगनिया छूटि गईले एही से बोलेला वन काग
पातर राम चउक चढ़ि बईठे काहे बोलेला वन काग
आव हो व्यास मुनि चउक चढ़ि बईठ काहे बोलले वन काग
सीता के सिन्होरवा कोहबरवा छूटि गईले एही से बोलेला वन काग
पातर राम चउक चढ़ि बईठे काहे बोलेला वन काग
आव हो व्यास मुनि चउक चढ़ि बईठ काहे बोलले वन काग
राम के मउरिया मंड़उवा छूटि गईले एही से बोलेला वन काग

Why did the wild crow caw

—Why did the wild crow caw (when) slender Ram sat on the *chauk*
—O sage Vyas, come and sit on the *chauk* (and tell) why did the wild crow caw
—(Vyas answers) Ram's *dhoti* was left on the bamboo pole, that is why the wild crow cawed.
—Why did the wild crow caw (when) slender Ram sat on the *chauk*
—O sage Vyas, come and sit on the *chauk* (and tell) why did the wild crow caw
—(Vyas answers) Sita's vermilion box was left in the *kohbar*, that is why the wild crow cawed
—Why did the wild crow caw (when) slender Ram sat on the *chauk*
—O sage Vyas, come and sit on the *chauk* (and tell) why did the wild crow caw
—Ram's wedding headdress was left in the *mandap* that is why the wild crow cawed

फूहरो के अंगनवा

फूहरो के अंगनवा में तीनी पथरिया एक कोदईया दुई धान
लकड़ी लेई फूहरो कउआ रे उड़ावेली ब्राह्मण लगनिया लेले ठाढ़
का तुहूं फूहरो ए कउवा रे उड़ावेलू कई घाल बेटा के बिग्राह
ना मोरा ब्राह्मण चउरा से दलिया नाहि रे कोठिलवा भर धान
माटी के चूल्हवा ब्राह्मण परहूं ना आवे कईसे करीं बेटा के बिग्राह
हमहूं देवों फूहरो ए चउरा से दलिया अउरो कोठिलवा भर धान
माटी के चूल्हवा फूहरो हम पार देवों कई घाल बेटा के बिग्राह

The courtyard of a sloppy woman

– In the courtyard of that sloppy woman, there are three piles–one of *kodo*[90] and two of unhusked rice

—The sloppy woman chased the crow with a stick (while) a Brahman stood by with a marriage proposal (for her son)

—O sloppy woman, why are you chasing the crow, get your son married

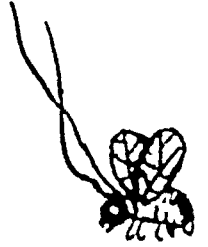
—O Brahman, I don't have rice and *dal* and I do not have an earthen container full of unhusked rice

—O Brahman, I don't know how to make an earthen oven, how could I get my son married

—O sloppy woman, I will give you rice and *dal* and an earthen container full of unhusked rice.

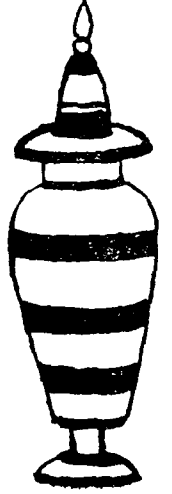
—O sloppy woman, I will make an earthen oven (for you) (but) get your son married.

संदेसा समधी के

चिठिया जे लिखले........समधी
दिहले समधी हाथे जी
ए समधी वरजीं ना अपनी भंवरवा सगर दिन अन्होर करे
चिठिया जे लिखले........समधी
दिहले समधी हाथे जी
ए समधी वरजीं ना अपनी वेईलिया सगर राती मंहक देली
कांचहीं सूतवा कटाईव जलवा बिनाईव जी
ओही जलवे वन्हवों भंवरवा ओरहन मोरा छूटि जईहें
कांचहीं वंसवा कटाईव डलवा बिनाईव जी
ओही डलवे तोपवों वेईलिया ओरहन मोरा छूटि जईहें

Samadhi's message

—*Samadhi........*[91] wrote a letter
—(He) delivered it to his *Samadhi's* (groom's father) hand.
—(In that letter he said)—O *samadhi* (father of groom), stop your black bee[92] the whole day it makes noise
—*Samadhi........*[93] wrote a letter
—(He) delivered it to his *samadhi's* (bride's father) hand
—O *samadhi* (father of the bride) stop your *bela* flower, it smells sweetly the entire night
—(Groom's father says) we will get cotton thread spun and make a net out of it
—With that net I will tie my black bee (and) there will be no complaint
—(Bride's father says) I will have green bamboo cut and will make a basket out of it
—With that basket I will cover my *bela* flower (and) there will be no complaint

चनन चउकिया

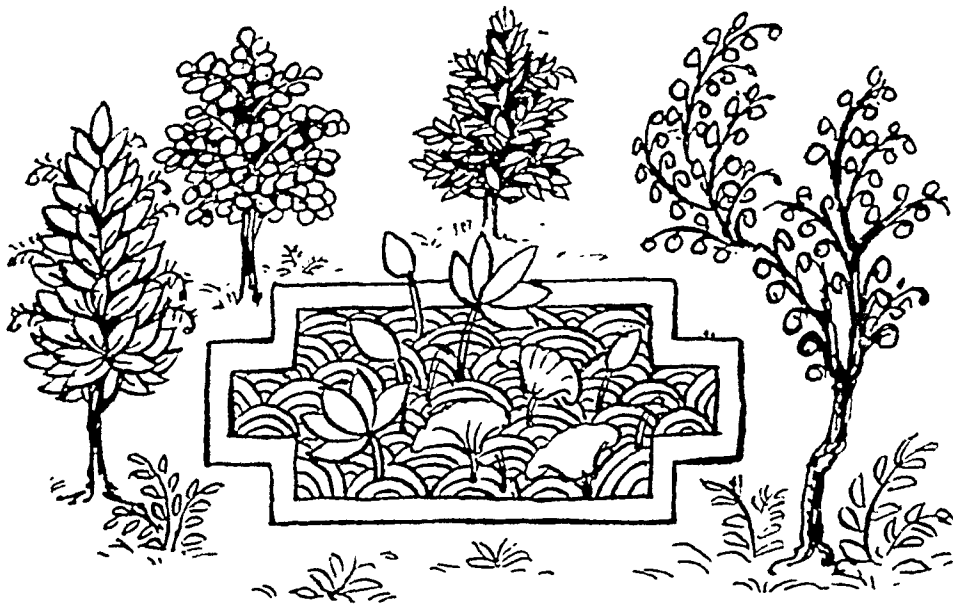
एक हम खोजिला बावा चनन चउकिया एक हम खोजिला बावा पढ़ल पंडितवा
कंहवां हीं पईवों ए बेटी चनन चउकिया, कंहवां हीं पईवों ए बेटी पढ़ल पंडितवा
बढ़ईया घरे पाईव ए बावा चनन चउकिया राजा घरे पाईव ए बावा पढ़ल पंडितवा
कईसे में चिन्हव ए बेटी चनन चउकिया कईसे में चिन्हव ए बेटी पढ़ल पंडितवा
गम गम महके ए बावा चनन चउकिया सुभीत बोलिया चिन्हव ए बावा पढ़ल पंडितवा
कंहवां जे सोभे ए बेटी चनन चउकिया अरे कंहवां ही सोभे ए बेटी पढ़ल पंडितवा
मंड़वा हीं सोभे ए बावा चनन चउकिया अरे कोहबर सोभे ए बावा पढ़ल पंडितवा
केकरा काम आवे ए बेटी चनन चउकिया केकरा काम आवे ए बेटी पढ़ल पंडितवा
समधी काम आवे ए बावा चनन चउकिया धिया काम आवे ए बावा पढ़ल पंडितवा

Sandalwood stool

—(The bride says) O father, I am searching for a sandalwood stool; O father, I am searching for a learned scholar
—(Then father asks) O daughter, where shall I find a sandalwood stool; O daughter, where shall I find a learned scholar
—(Daughter says) O father, you will find a sandalwood stool in the house of a carpenter; O father, you will find a learned scholar in the king's house
—(Father asks) O daughter, how shall I recognize the sandalwood stool; O daughter, how shall I recognize a learned scholar
—(Daughter says) O father, the sandalwood stool smells very fragrantly; O father, you will recognize a learned scholar by his polite speech
—(Father asks) O daughter, where does the sandalwood stool look beautiful (exhibit its beauty) and O daughter, where does the learned scholar look elegant
—(Daughter says)–O father, the sandalwood stool looks beautiful in the *mandap* and O father, the learned scholar looks elegant in the *kohbar*
—(Father says)—O daughter, who will use the sandalwood stool and O daughter, who will make use of the learned scholar
—(Daughter says)— O father, your *Samadhi* (girl's father-in-law) will use the sandalwood stool and O father, daughter (herself) will make use of the learned scholar

फूल लोढ़े गईली हो बेटी

बाबा के दुलरुई बेटी........बेटी हो
बेटी फुलवा लोढ़े गईली फुलवार त ओही बनवां भीतर हो
फुलवा लोढ़त बेटी धूप गईली हो, बेटी धूप गईली हो
अरे सूतल बाड़ी अंचरा बिछाय त ओही बनवां भीतर हो
घोड़वा चढ़ल आवे........दुलहा हो
अहो ऊपर भईले डमरू बजावे त जागु जागु मलहोरिन बिटिया हो
मलहोरिन होखो राउर माई बहिनिया हो
हम त........के धियवा त फुलवा लोढ़े अईलीं फुलवार त एही बनवां भीतर हो
जब रउरो हई........के धियवा हो हमहूं........के पूतवा
त रउरे लोभे अईलीं फुलवार त एही बनवां भीतर हो
जब रउरो हई........पूतवा हो
हमें आंगा पोथिया बिचारीं त एही बनवां भीतर हो
पढ़ल गुनल सब भोर भईले हो
अहो पोथी मोरा छूटले बनारस रउरा आंगे मेंड़ा भईलीं हो

Daughter went to pick flowers

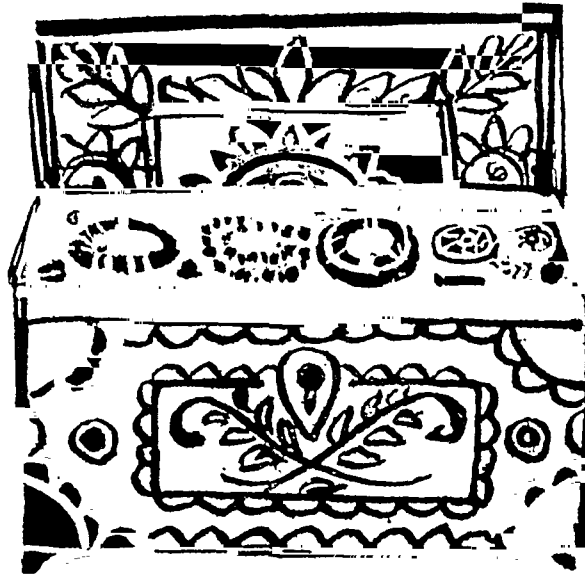
—The beloved daughter of the father is............[94]
—The daughter went to the flower garden to pick flowers, inside the forest
—While picking flowers the daughter became affected by the sun, the daughter became affected by the sun
—She spread out her *anchal* and went to sleep, inside the forest
—The bridegroom............[95] on horse back approached (her)
—And from above played the little drum (he says) wake up, wake up O gardener's daughter
—(Feeling insulted she says)—your mother and sister will be gardener's wife
—I am a daughter of............[96] I came to pick flowers in this garden, inside the forest
—(Bridegroom says)—if you are the daughter of........[97] I am son of........[98]
—You tempted me to come to this garden, inside the forest
—(Bride says)—if you are the son of........[99]
—(Then prove it) tell me about books (by giving opinion), inside the forest
—(Groom says)—I have forgotten all that I learned
—I left my books in Banaras and became an innocent lamb in front of you

दुलहा के जिद

........लवले फुलवरिया कमल दह भीतर हो
........दुलहा पईसे फुलवरिया भंवर भए भीतर हो
अरज से बोलले........सरवा अवरो........सरवा
दुलहा कांच करैली जनि तोड़हू फूले फरे भेंकर हो
गरव से बोलले........दुलहा अवरो........दुलहा
कांच करैली हम तोड़व सरव रस ले लेवों हो

Bridegroom's insistence

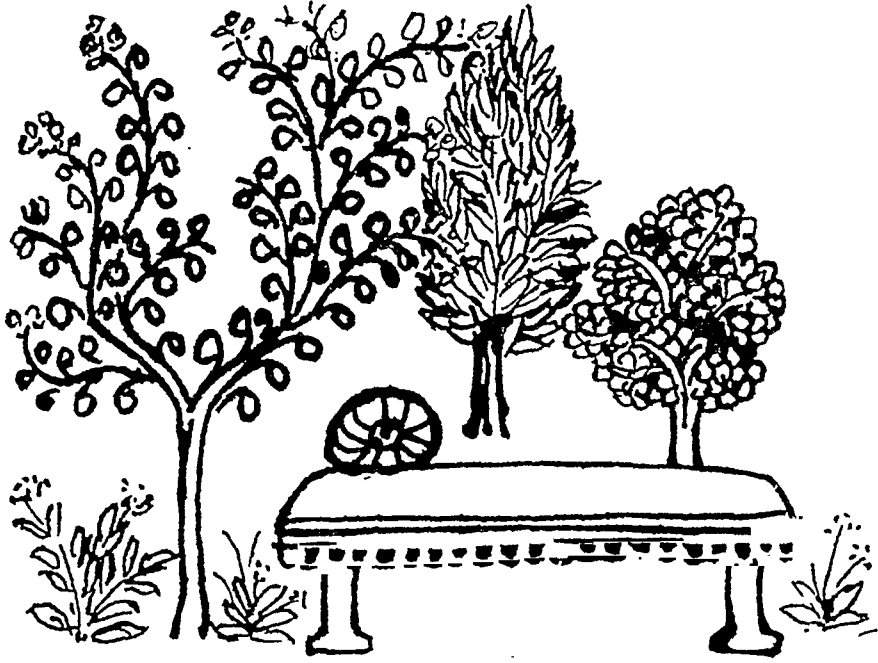
—(Bride's father's name)........[100] has planted a garden with a lotus pond inside
—(Groom's name)........[101] entered that garden in the form of a black bee
—Bride's brother........[102] requested him
—O bridegroom, do not pluck unripe gourds, they are full of flowers and fruits
—Bridegroom........[103] spoke proudly
—I will pluck unripe gourds and will fully relish them

सीता के बखान

हरदी जे पीसी पीसी चिठिया जे लिखले दिहले जनक जी के हाथ
अरे हमराहीं राम जनकपुर ब्याहें भली भांति साजीं बरिआत
राम के घोड़वा भली भांति साजव चन्दन भरले लिलार
जब बरिअतिया जनकपुर अईले भंटवा लिहले बिलमाय
देवऊं रे भंटवा रे पांचो टुक जोड़वा हमें आंगा सीता बखान
का हम सीता बखानीं राजा रामचन्द्र सीता सुरुजवा के जोत
सीता के जोते चनरमा छपित भईले रघुकुल कुलवा अंजोर
जब बरिअतिया दुअरवाहीं अईले चेरिया कलसा ले ले ठाढ़
देवऊं रे चेरिया रे सोने के कलसवा हमें आंगा सीता बखान
का हम सीता बखानीं राजा रामचन्द्र सीता सुरुजवा के जोत
सीता के जोते चनरमा छपित भईले रघुकुल कुलवा अंजोर
जब बरिअतिया मंड़वाहीं अईले नउआ नहरनी ले ले ठाढ़
देवऊं रे नउआ रे सोने के नहरनो हमें आंगा सीता बखान
का हम सीता बखानीं राजा रामचन्द्र सीता सुरुजवा के जोत
सीता के जोते चनरमा छपित भईले रघुकुल कुलवा अंजोर

नौ लाख रे गहना

पोखरि के पींड़िया चढ़ी हांक पारे रे बभना, अरे डांक पारे रे बभना
अहो बेटी के मईया मांगे नौ लाख रे गहना, पचास लाख रे सजना,
पचीस लाख रे बजना
से सुनि........समधी दाढ़ी नोचे रे अपना कपार धुने रे अपना
अरे कहां हम पाईब समधिन नौ लाख रे गहना, पचास लाख रे सजना,
पचीस लाख रे बजना

Jewellery worth nine lakhs

—A brahman standing on the bank of a pond, is calling aloud
the Brahman is calling aloud
—O the bride's mother is demanding jewellery worth nine lakhs, fifty lakhs of wedding guests (and)
—Twenty five lakhs of musicians
—After hearing this *Samadhi*........[106] (began) tugging at his beard and beating his head
—O *Samadhin* (bride's mother) where will I find jewellery worth nine lakhs, fifty lakhs of wedding guests (and)
—Twenty five lakhs of musicians

जोग–चनन गाछ

अगे माई आधा अंगनवां चननवा केरे गछिया
आधा अंगनवां दुलहवे डांसल सेजिआ
खाटी में के हरवा हरौवा ले गईल चोर
अरे मोरा भईया हो........भईया वता द भईया चोर
अरे मोरी वहिनी हो........वहिनी, अछनवां करितू थोर
राते के चोरवा ए वहिनी सगे वहनोई

Joga : Sandalwood trees

—O mother, half of the courtyard (has) sandalwood trees
—(And) half of the courtyard (has) the bridegroom's bed spread out over it
—(The bride says)—a thief has taken away a garland of jingle bells from (my) charpoy
—O my brother........[107], brother, tell me brother (who) the thief is
—(The brother says)—O my sister........[108] sister do not whine at all
—O sister, the thief of the night is (my) own brother-in-law[109]

जोग–जोग के जड़ी

लेहू ना........भईया कान्हे कुदरिया
कोड़ि देहू ए भईया जोग के जड़िया
जड़िया में कोड़ि कोड़ि भरलों चंगेलिया
लेहू ना........वहिनी जोग के जड़िया
जड़िया में पीसी पीसी भरलों कटोरवा
पी नाहीं लेहू दुलहा जोग के जड़िया
में नाहिं पीश्रवों धनि जोग के जड़िया
चली जईवों ए धनि वावाजी के पासे
चली जईवों ए धनि चाचाजी के पासे
जव तुंहू जईव दुलहा वावाजी के पासे
पकड़ि मंगईवों........भईया हाथे
जव तुंहू जईव दुलहा चाचाजी के पासे
पकड़ि मंगईवों........भईया हाथे
वोलिश्रा वोलईवों मिरगवा के वोली
छनवां चढ़ईवों वकरिया के छाने

Joga : roots of *joga*

(Bride says to her brother)
—O brother........[110] take the hoe on your shoulder
—O brother, dig the roots of *joga*[111]
—(The brother answers) after digging the roots I filled the basket with them
—O sister........[112] take the roots of *joga*
—(Bride says to the groom)—I ground the roots and filled the bowl
—O bridegroom, drink these roots of *joga*
—(Bridegroom says) O bride, I shall not drink these roots of *joga*
—O bride, I will go to (my) father
—O bride, I will go to (my)u ncle
—(Bride says)—O bridegroom, when you will to go your father
—I will have my brother........[113] catch you and bring you (to me)
—O bridegroom, when you will go to your uncle
—I will have my brother........[114] get you
—I will make you speak like a cock
—I will keep you like a goat (will tie the feet to prevent you running away)

झूमर : छिछली गड़हिया

मोरा पिछुअरवा जे छिछली गड़हिया से
देवर मारे चल्हवा मछरिया रे दईया
धोती में जे छनले कड़ाही में गिरवले से
पड़ि गइले सासु के नजरिया रे दईया
छोटकी ननदिया रे बड़ी छुछवेहरा
खाहिं के वेरिया लईया लवलस रे दईया
चलु चलु धनिया हो कोठिला के आन तरे
हमहूं ठेठाईव तुंहूं सुसुकिह रे दईया
पनवां जे खाई खाई पीतिया बटोरले बाड़े
पिया मरले खूनवा चलाई रे दईया

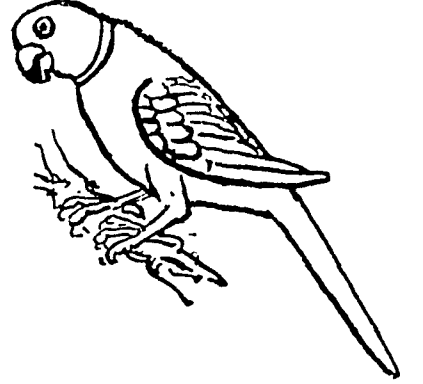
Jhumar : The shallow pit

—In the backyard of my house there is a shallow pit
—O God, my brother-in-law (husband's younger brother) has caught some *chalhawa*[115] fish (in the shallow pit)
—He strained (the fish) from his *dhoti* and dropped them in the cooking pot
—O God, my mother-in-law caught sight of it
—My youngest sister-in-law (husband's sister) is very mean
—O God, at the time of eating she complained (about me)
—(My husband said) come with me wife under the *kothila*[116]
—O God, I will make it sound as if I am beating you and you please sob
—He chewed pan and spat the red juice on me
—O God, my husband beat me till I bled

झूमर : कवन मासे अंमवा मोजरले

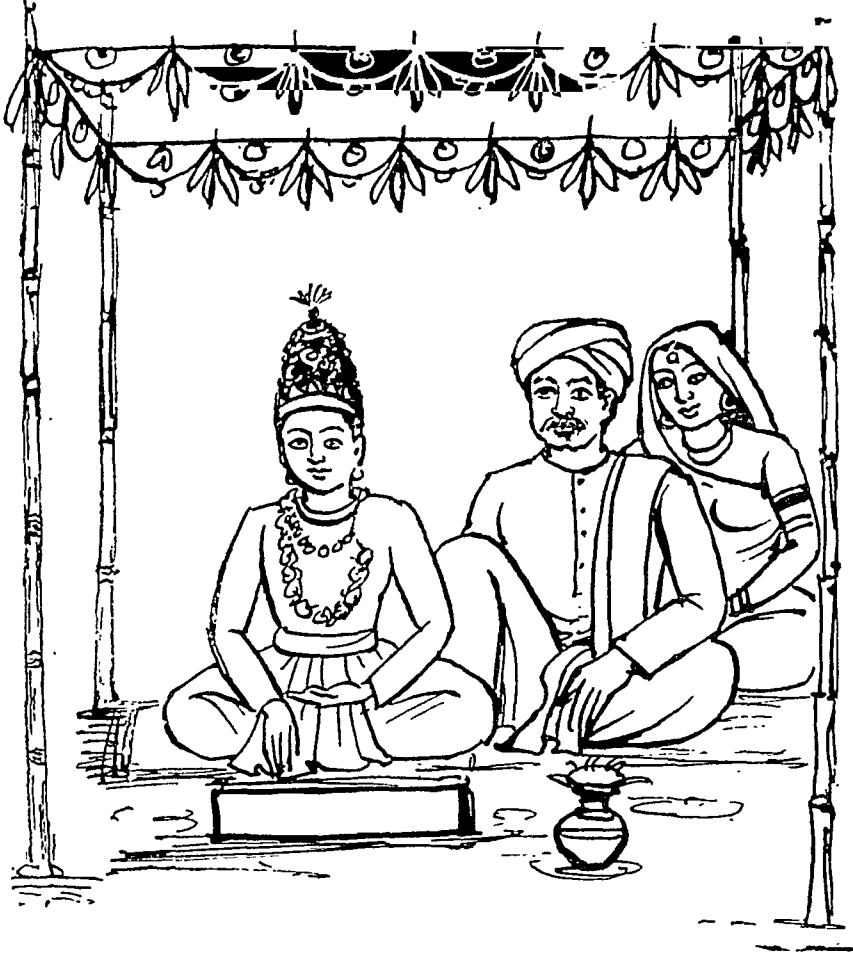
कवन मासे अंमवा मोजरले हो राधे
कवन मासे ना उतरेला सौदागर हो राधे—कवन मासे ना
माघ मासे अंमवा मोजरले हो राधे
फागुन मासे ना उतरेला सौदागर हो राधे—फागुन मासे ना
काई देखी सुग्गा मेंड़र मारे हो राधे
काई रे देखि ना उतरेला सौदागर हो राधे—काई रे देखि ना
अम्वा देखि सुग्गा मेंड़र मारे हो राधे
भउजी रे देखि ना उतरेला सौदागर हो राधे—भउजी रे देखि ना
अम्वा लेई सुग्गा उड़ि गईले हो राधे
भउजी रे लेई ना सौदागर हो राधे—भउजी रे लेई ना

Jhumar : In which month the mango tree blossoms

—In which month the mango tree blossoms, O Radhe[117]
—In which month the merchant comes, O Radhe
—In the month of *Magha* (January–February) the mango blossoms, O Radhe
—In the month of *Phalguna* (February–March) the merchant comes, O Radhe
—Why is the parrot hovering about, O Radhe
—Why does the merchant come, O Radhe
—The parrot is hovering about to see the mango, O Radhe
—To see the sister-in-law the merchant has come, O Radhe
—(While) the parrot took the mango and flew away, O Radhe
—The merchant takes sister-in-law and goes away, O Radhe

लाल ए सुगवा

लाल ए सुगवा परेउआ त देखतो सोहावन
उड़ि बईठले महू डढ़िया त देव सभ आनंदले
गयाहीं आनंदे गजाधर प्रयाग बेनीमाधव
सरगहीं अनंदले........दादा अब मांड़ो सोभले

O red parrot

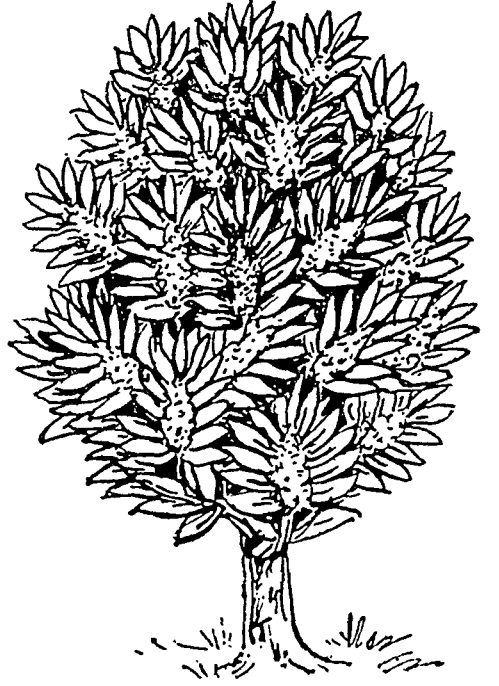
—O red parrot and pigeon, you look captivating
—When you perch on a branch of the *mahua*[118] tree, all the gods are delighted
—Ganesh is delighted in Gaya and Venimadhav[119] at Prayag
—Grandfather........[120] is delighted in heaven, now the *mandap* looks beautiful

हरिअर सुगवा

हरिअर सुगवा रतुल तोरा ठोर
काई काई देखले रे सुगवा........के मांड़ो
देखे के त देखलीं........के देखलीं
चउकनि वईठल........के देखलीं
अंचरा पसरले........देई के देखलीं
अंगुरी धरवले........वेटा के देखलीं
अंमवा के पलौवा लेले नउआ ठाकुर देखलीं
घीव ढरकावत ब्राह्मण देव के देखलीं

Green parrot

—Green parrot, your beak is red
—O parrot, what did you see in........'s [121] *mandap*
—I saw........[122], I saw
—I saw........ [123], seated on the *chauka*
—I saw........ [124], stretching her *anchal* (to accept blessings from gods)
—I saw son/daughter........[125] holding (his or her) parent's finger
—I saw a barber holding mango leaves (to be used for the *puja*)
—I saw a brahman pouring ghee (into a fire)

चलु चलु अंमवा रे हमरो अंगनवां

खोंइछा अछत दूवी पनवां
चलु चलु अंमवा रे हमरो अंगनवां
उठु उठु अंमवा रे हमरो कहनवे
चलु चलु अंमवा रे हमरो मंड़उआ
तोरा विनु अंमवा रे कइसन विआह
कइसे में चलु तोहरे मंड़उआ
नउवा के पूतवा मरोड़ले डढ़िया
हम नाहीं जाइवि तोहरे मंड़उआ
खोंइछा अछत दूवी पनवां
चलु चलु अंमवा रे हमरो अंगनवां
उठु उठु अंमवा रे हमरो कहनवे
चलु चलु अंमवा रे हमरो मंड़उआ
तोरा विनु अंमवा रे कइसन विआह
कइसे में चलु तोहरे मंड़उआ
वभना के पूतवा जरावले हुमिआ
हम नाहीं जाइवि तोहरे मंड़उआ
खोंइछा अछत दूवी पनवां
चलु चलु अंमवा रे हमरो अंगनवां
उठु उठु अंमवा रे हमरो कहनवे
चलु चलु अंमवा रे हमरो मंड़उआ
तोरा विनु अंमवा रे कइसन विआह
तोहरे अंमवा रे थुंमिआ गड़ईवों
तोरा विनु अंमवा रे कइसन विआह
कइसे में चलु तोहरे मंड़उआ
वढ़ईया के पूतवा लगावले टंगिया
हम नाहीं जाइवि तोहरे मंड़उआ

Come, O mango tree

—(Taking) uncooked rice, *dub* grass and betel leaves in (her) *anchal*
—(The bride's or groom's mother requests) come, come O mango tree, to my courtyard
—O mango tree, arise, arise with my request
—Come, come O mango tree, to my *mandap*
—O mango tree, without you what would a wedding be
—(Mango tree answers) how can I go to your *mandap* ?
—The barber's son tears off my branches (to use them at the wedding)
—I will not go to your *mandap*
—(Taking) uncooked rice, *dub* grass and betel leaves in (her) *anchal*
—(The bride's or groom's mother requests) come, come O mango tree, to my courtyard
—O mango tree, arise, arise with my request
—Come, come O mango tree, to my *mandap*
—O mango tree, without you what would a wedding be
—How can I go to your *mandap* ?
—The brahman's son pours ghee (with my leaves in the nuptial fire and burns them)
—I will not go to your *mandap*
—(Taking) uncooked rice, *dub* grass and betel leaves in (her) *anchal*
—(The bride's or groom's mother requests) come, come O mango tree, to my courtyard
—O mango tree, arise, arise with my request
—Come, come O mango tree, to my *mandap*
—O mango tree, without you what would a wedding be
—O mango tree, with your wood we will get the pillars made (for the *mandap*)
—O mango tree, without you, what would a wedding be
—(Tree answers) how can I go to your *mandap* ?
—The carpenter's son cuts me with his axe
—I will not go to your *mandap*

हरिअर बांस

के रे जईहें बीजू बनवा के रे कटावे हरिअर वांस
त अतेरूपे फूलले बेईलिया मोर
बाबा मोरा जईहें बीजू बनवा भईया कटावे हरिअर वांस
त अतेरूपे फूलले बेईलिया मोर

Green bamboo

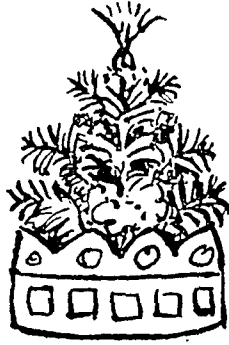
—Who will go to *Bijubana*[126] and who will get the green bamboo cut
—My vine blossomed beautifully
—My father will go to *Bijubana* and my brother will get the green bamboo cut
—My vine blossomed beautifully

मंड़उआ छाई मोही देय

अहो वावा हो........वावा मंड़उआ छाई मोही देय
आवत होईहें राजा के कुंअर चदरिया तान मोहि देय
अहो भईया हो........भईया मंड़उआ छाई मोहि देय
आवत होईहें राजा के कुंअर चदरिया तान मोहि देय

Get my *mandap* thatched

—O father........[127] get my *mandap* thatched
—The son of the king will be coming, have a curtain put up
—O brother........[128] get my *mandap* thatched
—The son of the king will be coming, have a curtain put up

मउर

पांच मउरिया हम ग्रावत देखलीं........के ग्रंगना
मालिन हो मउरिया लेले ठाढ़

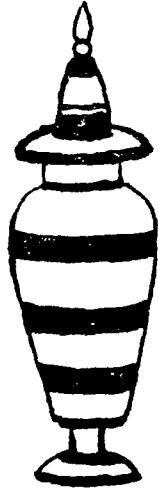
Headress

—Five wedding headresses coming
I saw in the courtyard of........[129]
—The lady gardener stands there with headresses

कलसा

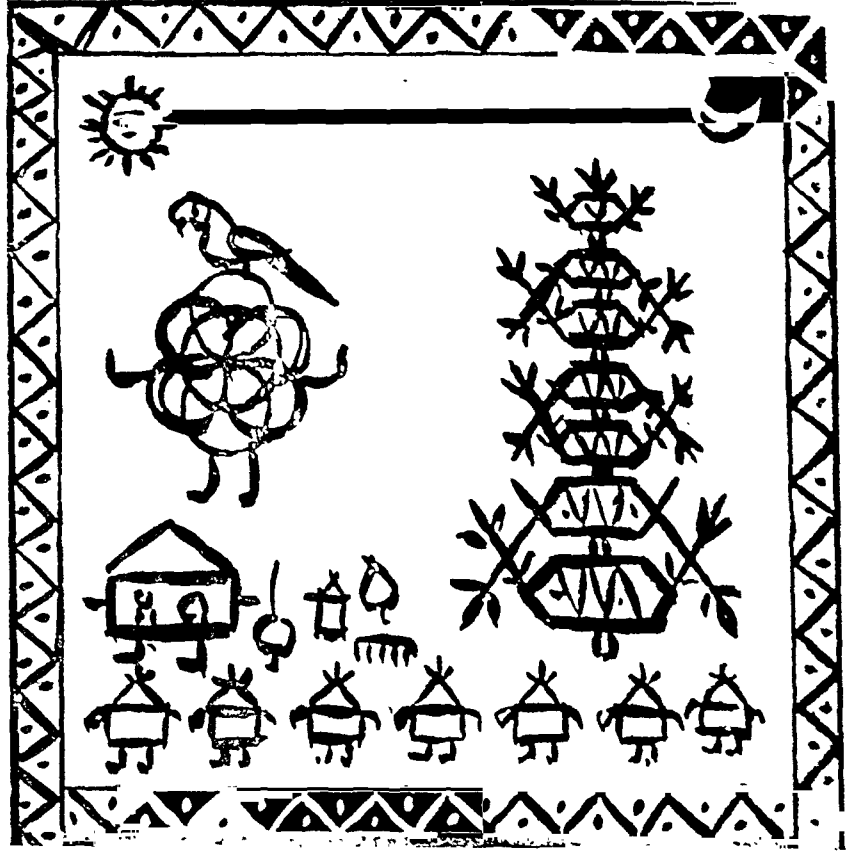
पांच कलसा हम आवत देखलीं........के अंगना
कुम्हईन हो कलसा लेले ठाढ़

kalasha

—Five earthen pots coming
I saw in the courtyard of........[130]
—The lady potter stands there with the pots

सिन्होरा

पांच सिन्होरवा हम आवत देखलों........ के अंगना
पैसरिया हो सिन्होरवा लेले ठाढ़

Vermilion powder box

—Five vermilion powder boxes coming
I saw in the courtyard of........[131]
—The general merchant stands there with the vermilion powder boxes

कोहबर के लिखाई

मचियहिं वईठली सासु रानी पूछली विटिया पतोह
त इहे नवा कोहवर
कंहवां लिखव सासु पुरईनि हे कंहवां लिखव वंसवार
त इहे नवा कोहवर
एक ओरि लिख वहुअर पुरईनि हे एक ओरि लिख वंसवार
त इहे नवा कोहवर
कंहवां लिखव सासु हंसा हंसनी हे कंहवां लिखव वनमोर
त इहे नवा कोहवर
कंहवां लिखव सासु सुग्गा मैना हे कंहवा लिखव दूनो जोड़
त इहे नवा कोहवर
दनवां चुनत गवरैया लिखिह हे गैया लिखिह वछवा लगाय
त इहे नवा कोहवर

कलसा लिहले चेरिया लौंड़ी लिखिह् वाम्हन पोथी लेले हाथ
त इहे नवा कोहवर
गईया दूहत अहिरा छौंड़ा लिखिह् दहिया वेचत अहिरिनि धेरि
त इहे नवा कोहवर
आरि आरि वेली के फूल जे लिखिह् अउर लिखिह् पनवार
त इहे नवा कोहवर
झोंपे–झोंपे इमली फरत भल लिखिह् अम्वा लिखिह् घौदवन लाग
त इहे नवा कोहवर

Painting of *kohbar*

—The mother-in-law seated on a stool was asked by the girls and daughters-in-law (of the family)
—Oh, this new *kohbar*
—O mother-in-law, where should we paint the lotus flower (and) where should we paint the bamboo tree
—Oh, this new *kohbar*
—O daughter-in-law, on one side paint the lotus flower (and) on the other side paint the bamboo tree
—Oh, this new *kohbar*
—O mother-in-law, where should we paint a pair of swans and where should we paint a wild peacock
—Oh, this new *kohbar*
—O mother-in-law where should we paint the parrot and mynah bird (and) where should we paint them in pairs
—Oh, this new *kohbar*
—(Mother-in-law answers paint all these and also) ,paint a sparrow chewing grain (and) a calf drinking milk from a cow
—Oh, this new *kohbar*
—Paint a maid carrying an earthen water pot (on her head and paint) a brahman with a book in his hand
—Oh, this new *kohbar*
—Paint the son of a milk man (*ahir*) milking a cow (and) a milk maid selling curd
—Oh, this new *kohbar*
—On the borders paint *beli* flowers (and) betel leaf vines
—Oh, this new *kohbar*
—Paint a cluster of tamarind on a tamarind tree (and) a mango tree with a cluster of fruit
—Oh, this new *kohbar*

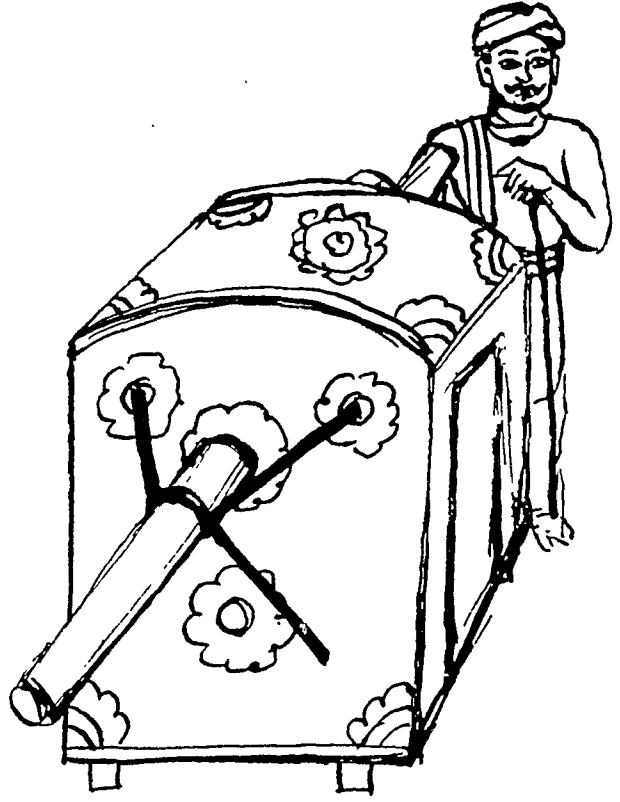
कोहबर–सोना के कटोरा

दुलहा दुलहिन मिलि कोहबर चलले
दुलहा पूछले एक बात
तोहरा बावाजी के सोने के कटोरवा
कहितू त मंगतीं दहेज
हमरा........भईया अलरा से दुलरा
पिअले कटोरवाहिं दूध
दूधवा पिअत भईया अंगुरी पसरिहें
मांगे लगिहें बहिनी तोहार
एतना वचन जब सुनले........दुलहा
घोड़े पीठि भइले असवार
जेकरा बहिनिया लागि हम चढ़ि अईलीं
सेहि मांगे बहिनी हमार
एतना वचन जब सुनले........बावा
दुलहा से अरज हमार
जेहि रे सुंदर वर धिया संकल्पलीं
कटोरवा के कवन बिसात

kohbar : golden bowl

—The bride and groom are going together to the *kohbar*
—The groom asks, (there is something I want to ask)
—Your father has a golden bowl
—If you say I will ask for it in dowry
—(Bride says) brother........[132] is our most beloved
—He drinks milk with that bowl
—While drinking milk my brother will be insistent
—(My brother)—will ask for your sister
—When groom........[133] heard these words
—He rode (away) on the back of a horse
—(Saying) the person for whose sister I came
—Is demanding my sister
—When (bride's) father........[134] heard these words
—(He said) this is my entreaty to the bridegroom
—I have given my daughter to this handsome groom
—What is the importance of a bowl

कोहबर लिखाई

कोहवर लीखन चलली........सुहवा हाथे कलम मसिहान
अंउठी पंउठी लिखले मोर रे मंजूरवा वीचे लिखले दूनों हंस
ताहि कोहवर सूतले दुलहा........दुलहा जवरे कवन देई रानी
ई कोहवरवा ए सुहवा केरे उरेहल चारों चिरईया दूनों हंस
ई कोहवरवा ए प्रभु भउजी उरेहली चारों चिरईया दूनों हंस
दान दहेज ए सुहवा भलु हम तेजव सरहज लेवों डंड़िया चढ़ाय

Painting of *kohbar*

—Bride........[135] goes to paint the *kohbar*, with brush and colours in her hands
—She paints peacocks on both sides and in the middle a pair of swans
—Groom........[136] sleeps with bride........[137] *dei*[138] *rani*[139] in that *kohbar*
—(Groom asks) O bride, who has painted the *kohbar* with four birds and a pair of swans
—(Bride says) O lord, my brother's wife painted this *kohbar* with four birds and a pair of swans
—(Groom says) O bride, even if I have to give up the wedding gifts (I will do it, but) I will take your brother's wife away with me in a palanquin

नाद परिछईत

कवन........के पउआ रे खिआई गईले सजना हंकरईत
कवन........मोती सारी झरी गईले नाद परिछईत

Welcoming the sound

—The feet of........[140] are worn out by inviting (so many wedding) guests
—Pearls of........[141] *sari* have fallen by welcoming sound[142] (*Nad*)

हरदी

के ऊजे हरदी उपराजल हरदी सोहावन
ए कोईरी जे हरदी उपराजल
........दादा हरदी वेसाहल
ए........दुलहा के हरदी चढ़ावल हरदी सोहावन

Turmeric

—Who is that who raised turmeric, lovely turmeric
—The vegetable farmer raised turmeric
—Grandfather........[143] bought turmeric
—(He) applied turmeric to groom........[144] lovely turmeric

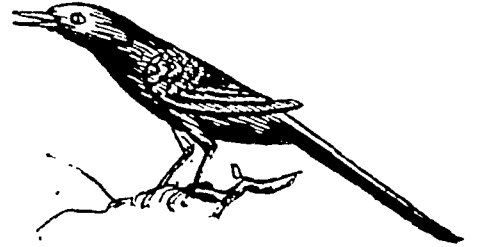
अगरू अबटन

सोने के कटोरवा में अगर घोरावल लवले........दुलहा आठों अंग हे
मन मानिक हियरा हीरा बेदिल दांत हे
मुंहवां तोरा बखानों ए........दुलहा जइसन पूर्णिमा के चांद हे
मन मानिक हियरा हीरा बेदिल दांत हे
अंखिया तोरा बखानों ए........दुलहा जइसन अमवां के फांक हे
मन मानिक हियरा हीरा बेदिल दांत हे
दंतवा तोरा बखानों ए........दुलहा जइसन जीरहुल जीरवा
मन मानिक हियरा हीरा बेदिल दांत हे
ओंठवा तोरा बखानो ए........दुलहा जइसन कतरल पान हे
मन मानिक हियरा हीरा बेदिल दांत हे
नकवा तोरा बखानों ए........दुलहा जइसन सुग्गा के ठोर हे
मन मानिक हियरा हीरा बेदिल दांत हे
पीठवा तोरा बखानों ए........दुलहा जइसन धोबिआ के पाट हे
मन मानिक हियरा हीरा बेदिल दांत हे
जंघिआ तोरा बखानों ए........दुलहा जइसन कदली के थंभ हे
मन मानिक हियरा हीरा बेदिल दांत हे

agaru paste

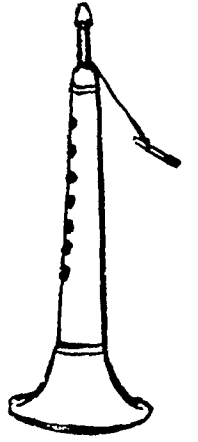
—*Agaru*[145] paste is prepared in the golden bowl, groom............[146] is applying (that paste) in his eight limbs (of body)
—Your heart is like a ruby and diamond and your teeth are studded with diamonds
—O bride groom........[147] how can one describe your face which is like the full moon
—Your heart is like a ruby and diamond and your teeth are studded with diamonds
—O bride groom........[148] how can one describe your eyes which are like a slice of mango
—Your heart is like a ruby and diamond and your teeth are studded with diamonds
—O bride groom........[149] how can one describe your teeth which are as small as cumin seeds
—Your heart is like a ruby and diamond and your teeth are studded with diamonds
—O bridegroom........[150] how can one describe your lips which are (red) like chewed *pan*
—Your heart is like a ruby and diamond and your teeth are studded with diamonds
—O bridegroom........[151] how can one describe your nose which is like the beak of a parrot
—Your heart is like a ruby and diamond and your teeth are studded with diamonds
—O bride groom........[152] how can one describe your back which is like the slabstone used by a washerman
—Your heart is like a ruby and diamond and your teeth are studded with diamonds
—O bride groom........[153] how can one describe your thighs which are like the trunk of a banana tree
—Your heart is like a ruby and diamond and your teeth are studded with diamonds

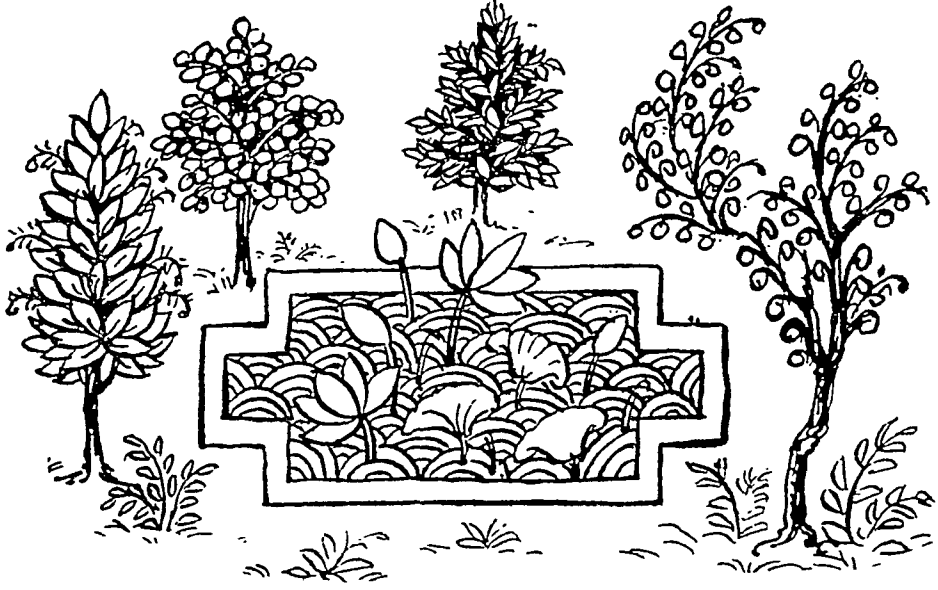
कारी कोईलर

कारी कोईलर कारी रे कोईलर कारी तोरा ठोर
कवना वने रहलू ए कोईलर कवना वने जाए
केकरा दुअरवा ए कोईलर ऊजहल जाए
कारी कोईलर कारी रे कोईलर कारी तोरा ठोर
वृन्दावने रहलू ए कोईलर कुंजवने जाए
........दुअरिआ ए कोईलर ऊजहल जाए

Black cuckoo

—Black cuckoo, black cuckoo, your beak is also black
—In which forest do you live, in which forest are you going
—At which door, oh cuckoo are you migrating[154]
—Black cuckoo, black cuckoo, your beak is also black
—O, cuckoo, you live in Vrindavana[155] and go to Kunjavana[156]
—O cuckoo you are migrating to (perch) at........'s[157] door

तोही बिना मटिया कइसन बिआह

उठीं उठीं मटिया कारी पिअर भए
तोही बिना मटिया कइसन बिआह
कंहवां हीं मटिया तोहरो जनम भए
कंहवां हीं मटिया ऊजहल जाए
कूर खेते मटिया तोहरो जनम भए
ए मंड़वाहीं मटिया ऊजहल जाए

Without you, O earth, how is a wedding possible

—Get up, get up O black earth, becoming yellow[158]
—Without you, O earth, how is a wedding possible
—Where, O earth, were you born
—Where, O earth, is your destination
—O earth, you were born on the outskirts of the village
—O earth, *mandap* is your destination

के ऊजे पोखरा खनावल

के ऊजे पोखरा खनावले घाट बन्हावले
केकर भरले कहार त राम नहाले
राजा दशरथ पोखरा खनावले घाट बन्हावले
कोशिला देई के भरले कहार त राम नहाले
केरे देले अंगुठी मुंदरिया त केरे देले रूप हे
केरे देले रतन पदारथ भरि गईले सूप हे
केकई देली अंगुठी मुंदरिया सुमित्रा देली रूप हे
कोशिला देली रतन पदारथ भरि गईले सूप हे

Who had the pond dug

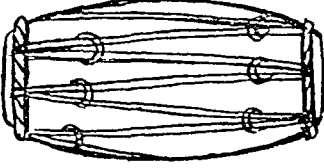
—Who had the pond dug (and) who had the steps (leading to it) built
—Whose servants are drawing (water) (from it) (and) Ram is taking a bath (there)
—King Dashrath had the pond dug and had its steps constructed
—Kaushalya Devi's servants are drawing (water from it); (and) Ram is taking a bath (there)
—Who is giving finger rings (for the servants) and who is giving silver
—Who is giving bejewelled trinkets (for the servants) that the winnowing basket is filled (with these ornaments)
—Kaikeyi is giving the finger rings, Sumitra is giving silver
—Kaushalya is giving bejewelled trinkets that the winnowing basket is filled (with the ornaments)

संभरियो रे कोई नजरी ना लावे

जीरा जवाईन धोबिन ओइछे देखिह रे कोई नजरी ना लावे
संभरियो रे कोई नजरी ना लावे
जे मोरा वावू के नजरी लगईहें उनका के कानी गदही चढ़ईवों
जीरा जवाईन अम्मां ओइछे देखिह रे कोई नजरी ना लावे
संभरियो रे कोई नजरी ना लावे
जे मोरा वावू के नजरी लगईहें उनका के कानी गदही चढ़ईवों

Watch that no one casts an evil eye

—The washerwoman is making a propitiatory offering of cumin and aromatic seeds; watch that no one casts an evil eye (on the bride or groom)[159]
—Take care that no one casts an evil eye (on the bride or groom)
—Whoever will cast an evil eye on my son[160], I will make him ride a one-eyed female donkey
—The mother is making a propitiatory offering of cumin and aromatic seeds; watch that no one casts an evil eye (on the bride or groom)
—Take care that no one casts an evil eye (on the bride or groom)
—Whoever will cast an evil eye on my son, I will make him ride a one-eyed female donkey

बीरन भईया आई गईले

मचियहीं बईठल........सासु उघटा पईच करे
छिया छिया बहुआ तोरो नईहर भईया रे नाहीं आवले
जनि सासु अंगना लिपावहु चउका पुरावहु
हम नाहीं चउके बईठब भईया रे नाहीं आईल
अरे अरे भईया बजनिया त ढोल घमकाव, सुनिहें नईहर केरा लोग त इमली घोंटईहें
दुअरहिं घोड़ा हिनहिनईले टाप झहरइले
अब सासु अंगना लिपावहु चउका पुरावहु
अब हम चउका बईठब बीरन भईया आई गईले
अंगना बहरईत चेरिया ए चेरिया पूछी आव हमरो भईयाजी से का का चउक आईल
बहिनी जब हम रहलीं सुखितवा नेवता नाहीं भेजलू
जब हम भईलीं दु:खितवा त नेवता पेठावलु
खोलहू बहिनी लुगरिया त पेन्हू चुनरिया

My brother has come

—Mother-in-law........[161] seated on a stool is complaining
—O daughter-in-law, your parent's place is dissatisfying, your brother did not turn up
—(Daughter-in-law says)—O mother-in-law do not get the courtyard washed and do not get the *chauka* painted
—I will not sit on the *chauka* (my) brother has not come
—O brother, the musician, play the drum loudly (so that) people from my parents' place will hear and come for the ceremony—*Imali ghontana*
—At the door the horse neighed and sounded his hoofs
—(Daughter-in-law says)—O mother-in-law, get the courtyard washed and get the *chauka* painted
—Now, I will sit on the *chauka*, my brother has come
—O maid, sweeping the courtyard, ask my brother what has he brought as a gift[162]
—(Brother says)—O sister when I was rich you did not send an invitation
—When I became poor, you sent an invitation
—O sister, take off your worn out *sari* and put on a *chunari* [163]

सात महल केरे एके दुअरिआ

सात महल केरे एके दुअरिआ तहां हो........दुलहा पेन्हे भल मउरिआ
मैं तोही पूछिला दुलहा अलवेला केरे पेन्हावले अतिभल मउरिआ
केरे पेन्हावले अतिभल मउरिआ
मलहोरिया के जनमल........वावू वहनोईया सेहि रे पेन्हावले अतिभल मउरिआ
सात महल केरे एके दुअरिया तहां हो........दुलहा पेन्हे भल जोड़वा
मैं तोही पूछिला दुलहा अलवेला केरे पेन्हावले अतिभल जोड़वा
केरे पेन्हावले अतिभल जोड़वा
दरजिया के जनमल........वावू वहनोईया सेहि रे पेन्हावले अतिभल जोड़वा
सात महल केरे एके दुअरिया तहां हो........दुलहा पेन्हे भल मोजवा
मैं तोही पूछिला दुलहा अलवेला केरे पेन्हावले अतिभल मोजवा
केरे पेन्हावले अतिभल मोजवा
चमरा के जनमल........वावू वहनोईया सेहि रे पेन्हावले अतिभल मोजवा

Seven palaces have one door

—Seven palaces have one door, where groom........[164] is putting on exquisite headdress
—I am asking you, O foppish groom, who has put this very fine headdress (on you)
—Who has put this very fine headdress (on you)
—My brother-in-law........[165] who was born of a gardener, has put this very fine headdress (on me)
—Seven palaces have one door where groom........[166] is putting on very fine attire
—I am asking you, O foppish groom, who has put this very fine attire (on you)
—Who has put this very fine attire (on you)
—My brother-in-law........[167] who was born of a tailor has put this very fine attire (on me)
—Seven palaces have one door where groom........[168] is putting on fancy slippers
—I am asking you, O foppish groom, who has put these fancy slippers (on you)
—Who has put these fancy slippers (on you)
—My brother-in-law........[169] who was born of a leather worker has put these fancy slippers (on me)

नयना जुड़ाई रे गईले

कर रे कदंव रे फूले ऊपरे वेईलिया रे फूले
परिछहू अम्मा हो अपना सुंदर रे वर
हिरदेया हुलसि रे गईले
नयना जुड़ाई रे गईले
कर रे कदंव रे फूले ऊपरे वेईलिया रे फूले
परिछहू चाची हो अपना सुंदर रे वर
हिरदेया हुलसि रे गईले
नयना जुड़ाई रे गईले

Eyes are delighted

—A *kadamba*[170] tree is in bloom and on it a vine is blossoming
—O mother, do *parichhan* of your handsome son (bridegroom)
—(Your) heart is pleased
—(Your) eyes are delighted
—A *kadamba* tree is in bloom and on it a vine is blossoming
—O aunt, do *parichhan* of your handsome son (bridegroom)
—(Your) heart is pleased
—(Your) eyes are delighted

बेटी हरली गेग्रनिग्रा

ओरि तरे ग्रारि तरे वईठे वरनेतिया
ग्ररे कढ़ले........रे समधी ग्रलफी रे पुतरिया
साजन लोगवा ए माई हे गिरे मुरु रे छईया
ग्ररे का तुहूं साजन रे लोगवा गिरले मुरु रे छईया
ग्ररे हमरो........ए बेटी हरली गेग्रनिग्रा
दिनवां जे हरलू ए बेटी भूखिग्रा रे पिग्रसिग्रा
रतिया जे हरलू ए बेटी हमरो गेग्रनिग्रा

Daughter has lost her senses

—Under the lanes of the roof, the wedding guests are sitting
—The bride's father........[171] presented his uncomparable daughter
—O mother, the guests (on seeing her matchless beauty) swooned
—(Bride's father says) O guests, why did you swoon
—My daughter.........[172] has lost her senses (over love of the groom)
—O daughter, you took away our food and drink during the day (she made them fast)
—O daughter, you took away our senses during the night (we were so busy with preparations that we forgot ourselves)

लावा ले रे चलु

आज अवधपुर व्याह् लावा ले रे चलु
कनक सुपली भरी लावा लावा ले रे चलु
बरात लावा लेले ठाढ़ लावा ले रे चलु
लावा छींटह........ भईया वहिनी तोहार
पहिला भंवर जब घूमली बहिनी तोहार
लावा छींटह........भईया बहिनी तोहार
दूसरा भंवर जब घूमली बहिनी तोहार
लावा छींटह........भईया बहिनी तोहार
तीसरा भंवर जव घूमली बहिनी तोहार
अंगूठा धरहू........दुलहा सुहवा तोहार
चउठा भंवर जब घूमली सुहवा तोहार

Bring puffed rice

—Today there is a wedding in Ayodhya, come and bring puffed rice
—A golden winnowing basket is filled with puffed rice, come and bring puffed rice
—The wedding party (of the groom) is standing there holding puffed rice, come and bring puffed rice
—O brother............[173] scatter the puffed rice, she is your sister
—When she takes the first round, she is still your sister
—O brother.............[174] scatter the puffed rice, she is your sister
—When she takes the second round, she is still your sister
—O brother............[175] scatter the puffed rice, she is your sister
—When she takes the third round, she is still your sister
—O bridegroom............[176] grasp (her) thumb; she is (now) your bride
—When she takes the fourth round, she is your bride

सेनुरिया

कंहवां के सेनुरिया सेनुर भल वेचले हो
कंहवां के वर कामी त सेनुरा बेसाहेला हो
........के सेनुरिया सेनुर भल बेचले हो
........के वर कामी त सेनुरा बेसाहेला हो
बावा बाबा पुकारिला बावा ना बोलले हो
बावाहीं के वरजोरी सेनुर वर बांधेला हो

Vermilion merchant

—Where is the merchant from, who sells *sindur*
—Where is the amorous bridegroom from, who buys *sindur*
—The merchant who sells *sindur* is from............[177]
—The amorous bridegroom who buys *sindur* is from..............[178]
—(Bride says)—I called "father, father" but father did not respond
—The groom applies *sindur* (to the parting of the bride's hair) according to the will of the father

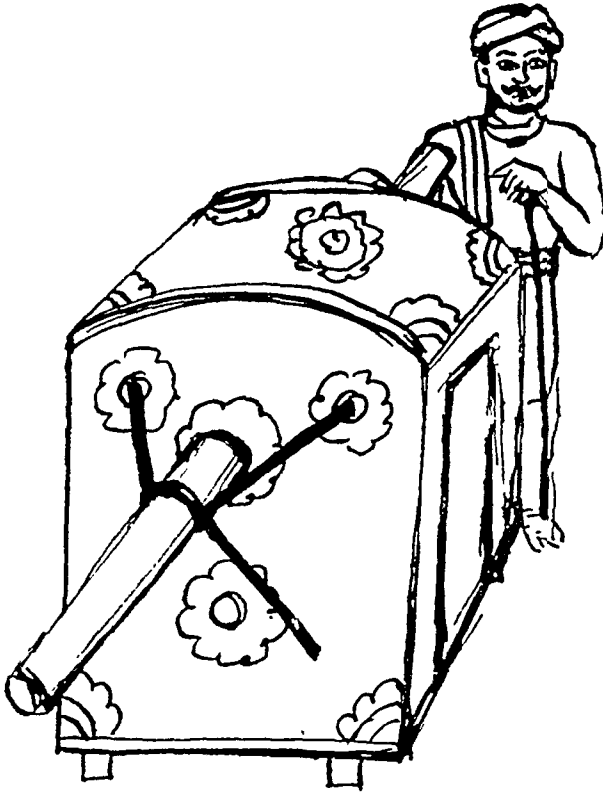
मोहले जग संसार

कंहवां से शुद्ध सोना मंगायो कंहवा के गढ़वईया जी
आरे से शुद्ध सोना मंगायो पटना के गढ़वईया जी
से सोना पहिरली समधिन........वहू अंइठी चलली वजारे जी
हां जी........के सभ वाम्हन मोहले पोथी के बंचवईया जी
हां जी........के सभ राजपूत मोहले तलवार के चलवईया जी
हां जी........के सभ लाला जे मोहले कलम के घिसवईया जी
हां जी........सभ वनिया जे मोहले डंडी के मरवईया जी
हां जी........के सभ सोनरा जे मोहले गहना के गढ़वईया जी
हां जी........के सभ कुंजड़ा जे मोहले तरकारी के बेचवईया जी
हां जी........के सभ धुनिया जे मोहले रूआ के धुनवईया जी
हां जी........के सभ अहीर जे मोहले दही के बेचवईया जी
हां जी........के सभ जोलहा जे मोहले ढरकी के चलवईया जी
हां जी........के सभ चमरा जे मोहले जूता के बन्हवईया जी
हां जी........के सभ डोम जे मोहले सूप के विनवईया जी
हां जी वावू मोहले भईया मोहले मोहले जग संसार जी
हां जी छान्ही पर के दूगो कउआ जे मोहले ठोर के बजवईया जी

The whole world is charmed

—From where is the pure gold obtained, where is the craftsman from
—The pure gold is obtained from Arrah (and) the craftsman is from Patna
—*Samadhin*.....[179], wife of.....[180] wears that (ornament of) gold and goes to the market proudly
—Yes, all the Brahmans of.........[181], who are devoted to learning are charmed (to see the *Samadhin*)
—Yes, all the *Rajputs of*....[182] who are expert swordsmen are charmed (to see the *Samadhin)*
—Yes, all the *Kayasthas* of.............[183] who are good in writing are charmed (to see the *Samadhin*)
—Yes, all the *Banias* of...........[184] who are adept in tilting the scales are charmed (to see the *Samadhin*)
—Yes, all the *Sunars* of..........[185] who are makers of ornaments are charmed (to see the *Samadhin*)
—Yes, all the *Kunjaras* of.........................[186] who are vegetable sellers are charmed (to see the *Samdhin*)
—Yes, all the *Dhuniyas* of........[187] who card cotton are charmed (to see the *Samadhin*)
—Yes, all the *Ahiras* of........[188] who sell curds are charmed (to see *Samadhin*)
—Yes, all the *Jolahas* of........[189] who work at loom are charmed (to see the *Samadhin)*
—Yes, all the *Chamars* of..........[190] who make shoes are charmed (to see the *Samadhin*)
—Yes, all the *Domas* of....[191] who are basket weavers are charmed (to see the *Samadhin*)
—Yes, the people of all community and the whole world is charmed (to see the *Samadhin)*
—Yes, (even) the pair of crows on the roof, who are pecking each other are charmed (to see the *Samadhin)*

बेटी के विदाई

सातहीं पात के कंगहिया त झारे बेटी भंवरवा केसिया हे
केसिया झरईते राम चलि अईले त चलु सुहवा मोरो घरवा
कईसे में जाईं प्रभु राउर घरवा मोरो बाबा नाहीं बिसरले हो
सभवा बईठल मोरो बाबा देखिह त आपन बाबा बिसर जईबू हो
कईसे में जाईं प्रभु राउर घरवा मोरी अम्मां नाहीं बिसरली हो
मचिया बईठल मोरी अम्मां देखिह त आपन अम्मां बिसर जईबू हो
सातहीं पात के कंगहिया त झारे बेटी भंवरवा केसिया हे
केसिया झरईते राम चलि अईले त चलु सुहवा मोरो घरवा
कईसे में जाईं प्रभु राउर घरवा मोरी बहिनी नाहीं बिसरली हो
सुपलीं खेलत मोरी बहिन देखिह त आपन बहिनी बिसर जइबू हो
कईसे में जाईं प्रभु राउर घरवा मोरो भईया नाहीं बिसरले हो
घोड़वा चढ़ल मोरो भईया देखिह त आपन भईया बिसर जइबू हो
कईसे में जाईं प्रभु राउर घरवा मोरी भउजी नाहीं बिसरली हो
भंड़सर पईसल मोरी भउजी देखिह त आपन भउजी बिसर जइबू हो

Departure of daughter for her husband's place

—There is a comb of seyen sets of teeth; the girl is combing her hair which is as black as a bee

—(While) (she was) combing her hair Ram[192] appeared; (he told her), "come bride to my house"

—(The Bride says), O lord, how can I go to your house I cannot forget my father

—(Ram says) if you will see my father sitting with people you will forget your father

—(The bride says), O lord, how can I go to your house, I cannot forget my mother

—(Ram says) if you will see my mother sitting on a stool, you will forget your mother

—There is a comb of seven sets of teeth; the girl is combing her hair which is as black as a bee

—(While) (she was) combing her hair Ram appeared; (he told her), "come bride to my house"

—(The bride says) O lord, how can I go to your house, I cannot forget my sister

—(Ram says) if you will see my sister playing with a winnowing basket, you will forget your sister

—(The bride says), O lord, how can I go to your house, I cannot forget my brother

—(Ram says) if you will see my brother riding on a horse, you will forget your brother

—(The bride says) O lord, how can I go to your house, I cannot forget my brother' swife

—(Ram says) if you will see my brother's wife in the kitchen you will forget your sister-in-law

दही भात

ढुरू ढुरू मुंहवा ए बेटी संकरा लीलार
खाई नाहीं लेहू ए बेटी इहो दही भात
इहो खइलका हो बेटी पर केरा आस
इहो दही भतवा हो अम्मां सिकहर चढ़ाईं
केनवा लिहते हो अम्मां बोललीं भहराय

Curd and rice

—O daughter, you have fine features and a narrow forehead
—O daughter, eat this curd and rice
—O daughter (for) this food, (you will have to) depend on others
—O mother, place this rice and curd in the hanging pot
—O mother,[193] you spoke rudely at the time I was buying berries[194]

(क) जब हम जनतीं बहुअवा मोर अइहें हो

जब हम जनतीं बहुअवा मोर अईहें हो कांचहीं बांस के डलवा बिनईतीं हो
सोन रूपे पूतवा सलोनी पतोहिआ हो
जब हम जनतीं बहुअवा मोर अईहें हो कोरहीं नदिया में दहिया जमईतीं हो
सोन रूपे पूतवा सलोनी पतोहिआ हो
जब हम जनतीं बहुअवा मोर अईहें हो कांचहीं सुतवा के पोली कटईतीं हो
सोन रूपे पूतवा सलोनी पतोहिआ हो

(ख) धन धन भाग रउरो कवन........नाती पतोह चलि आयो
ई वहुआ बहुआ के पैर छु लछन ई वहुआ

(A) If I had know my daughter-in-law would come

—(Bride's mother-in-law says) if I had known my daughter-in-law would come, I would have had a basket of green bamboo woven
—My son is like gold and my daughter-in-law is charming
—If I had known my daughter-in-law would come, I would have made curd in a new earthen pot
—My son is like gold and my daughter-in-law is charming
—If I had known my daughter-in-law would come, I would have had a spool of unbleached thread spun[195]
—My son is like gold and my daughter-in-law is charming

(B)

—You are indeed fortunate........[196] (your) grand son and grand-daughter-in-law come home
—This daughter-in-law, daughter-in-law's feet are auspicious, this daughter-in-law

NOTES :

1. Bridegroom's grandfather's name.
2. A Bhojpuri idiom "pearl of elephant" means rare pearls.
3. Bridegroom's name
4. Variety of rice, which grows very fast.
5. Green grass that grows almost anywhere and is usually lush green.
6. Women say jokes while giving blessings and therefore when a daughter-in-law of the house goes to give blessings, they call her ploughman's daughter and when a girl of the house goes, they call her chief's daughter.
7. It can be for the bride and groom separately or the couple together.
8. For the first time it is for Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh, after that names of three dead ancestors are sung.
9. Bride's name.
10. Bridegroom's name.
11. Bride's name.
12. Bridegroom's name.
13. A religious place near Allahabad in eastern India.
14. Bride's name.
15. Bridegroom's name.
16. Bride's father's name.
17. Bride's uncle's name.
18. Bride's brother's name.
19. Palanquin cover.
20. A community which sells milk.
21. Name of bride's or groom's mother or equal status women such as grandmother, grand aunts and aunts are sung here.
22. Piece of curd used to make more curd.
23. Raval is a title for a king like chief.
24. "Gaura Dei" is used here for Gauri, the name of Shiva's wife and "Dei" is a corrupt form of "Devi" which is used with female names all over northern India."
25. Morang is a part of Nepal.
26. In this case it means that Gauri is not supposed to go and welcome her co-wife, only husband's younger brother's wife and son's wife are welcomed in the household.
27. Idiom used for abusing a Brahman.
28. A kind of snake.
29. Bhojpuri idiom, literally "leaning on thigh", i. e. to be under the protection of that person.
30. Although Gaura is Parvati, it means Sati in this song.
31. Gauri or Parvati is Himalaya's daughter and Ganga also comes from Himalaya therefore they are sisters.
32. Small earthen bowl, used in the worship of Shitala.
33. when *khir* is made, *puris* stuffed with gram dal also go with it.
34. This word meaning *anchal* is used here instead of *anchal.* Whenever a married girl returns to her parents' home, she is always given some small thing, namely cumin seeds with turmeric roots and some coins, sometimes also sweets and sometimes *puris*, in her *khoinchha* before departing.
35. Meaning, to welcome heartily.
36. Common term of reference for some one who is slender.
37. Meaning, to go very far.
38. "In the banana grove" and all colours (are) in the banana grove" are only refrain and used only for rhythm.
39. Bridegroom's name, whose marriage is taking

place and for whom the song is sung.

40. Wooden sandal.

41. Means two miles.

42. Bathing in milk and *ghee* means living lavishly.

43. A tree of Rubiaceae family known especially for its flowers and delicate scent.

44. *Magha* is a sacred month, according to Hindu calendar and people bathe early in the morning before sunrise in this month to secure merit.

45. Gopichand was king of Dacca in Bengal.

46. A kind of drum-musical instrument usually played in battle field.

47. It is believed among villagers that black pepper when drunk prevents conception.

48 and 49. Bride's father's name.

50. Bridegroom's father's name.

51. Bride's name, whose marriage is taking place.

52. Place's name.

53. King's name.

54. *Kamdhenu*–a legendary cow, which fulfils every wish, also mentioned in Indian epics and myths.

55. Bride's brother's name.

56. Bridegroom's place's name.

57. Bridegroom's name.

58. Bride's place's name.

59. Bride's brother's name.

60. Bride's name.

61. Bride's name.

62. The term used in Bhojpuri means "the woman who sits on the lap", but used for wife.

63. Bride's name.

64. Bridegroom's father's name.

65. Bride's name.

66. A Bhojpuri idiom which means "to stand still".

67. Literally means "to fan someone with a fan" but sense is to take care of someone.

68. An ornament given by bridegroom to bride without which the wedding cannot take place.

69. Water removed from rice after cooking is known as *mand.* Rice-water-drinking is so well liked in Bhojpuri region that a saying is told of a woman lamenting for marriage in a non-rice region, where she has to grind maize but cannot drink rice-water.

70. A large pot in which they pour rice-water.

71–72. Bridegroom's name.

73. Bride's name.

74. Bridegroom's sister's name.

75–77. Bridegroom and his brothers' names.

78. Bridegroom's father's name.

79. Bride's father's name.

80. Bridegroom's name.

81. Bride's father's name.

82. Bride's name.

83. Tie-dye *sari.*

84. Bridegroom's name.

85. Bride's father's name.

86. Yellow colour fragrant flower.

87. Bride's place's name.

88. Bridegroom's place's name.

89. Bridegroom's name.

90. A coarse grain.

91. Bride's father's name.

92. Black bee is a term used for lover.

93. Bridegroom's father's name.

94. Bride's name.

95. Bridegroom's name.

96-97. Bride's father's name.

98-99. Bridegroom's father's name.

100. Bride's father's name.

101. Bridegroom's name.

102. Bride's brother's name.

103. Bridegroom's name.

104. A full dress consisting of five pieces : *Pagari, Angarkhi, Kamarband, dupatta* and *dhoti.*

105. Idiom meaning she is very fair.

106. Bridegroom's name.
107. Bride's brother's name.
108. Bride's name.
109. Meaning the sister's husband.
110. Bride's brother's name.
111. A type of folk song sung only at girls' wedding to attract the bridegroom. In these songs *Joga* is described as a root, plant, flower or a household object, in this case it is a root.
112. Bride's name.
113. Bride's brother's name.
114. Bride's brother's name.
115. A kind of fish, small in size.
116. A large storage vessel for grain which has a four-legged stand.
117. "O Radhe", meaning 'O Radha'-Krishna's beloved-used here in the latter part of each line only for rhythmic effect of the song.
118. Venimadhav, a form of Krishna, in which he makes Radha's braid.
119. Names of dead ancestors are sung in this song.
120. A tree.
121. Name of the head of the family.
122. Name of the head of the family.
123. Bride's or groom's father's name.
124. Bride's or groom's mother's name.
125. Bride's or groom's name in whose house the song is being sung.
126. Name of a forest.
127. Bride's father's name.
128. Bride's brother's name.
129-131. Bride's or groom's father's or grandfather's name, depending where the song is being sung.
132. Bride's brother's name.
133. Bridegroom's name.
134. Bride's father's name.
135. Bride's name.
136. Bridegroom's name.
137. Bride's name.
138. *Dei* is a corrupt form of Devi which is used as a suffix with female names.
139. *Rani*-literally meaning wife of a king, is also used for a wife.
140. Living male ancestors' name.
141. Living female ancestors' name.
142. *Nada* means sound but here it is sound of music.
143. Bride's or groom's grandfather's name. After grandfather's name, the song is sung with names of other elder members of the family, both male and female.
144. Bride or groom's name.
145. *Agaru* is a fragrant wood.
146-153. Bride or groom's name.
154. Idiom meaning here "at which door O cuckoo, will you perch ?"
155-156. Places near Mathura.
157. Names of the groom's dead ancestors at groom's place and bride's dead ancestors at bride's place.
158. After worshipping with turmeric and vermilion, earth becomes almost yellow, another explanation for being yellow could be that black being an inauspicious colour it is desirable that it should be yellow.
159. Depending at whose place, the song is sung.
160. At bride's place, the word daughter will be used instead of son.
161. Bride's or groom's paternal grandmother's name.
162. Gift brought for bride's mother or groom's mother by maternal uncle of bride or groom is known as *chauk*, it consists of a *sari* for the mother and a *dhoti* for the father.
163. At the time of marriage, tie and dye *saris* are used traditionally.
164-166. Bridegroom's name.
165-167. Bridegroom's sister's husband's name.
168. Bridegroom's name.
169. Bridegroom's sister's husband's name.
170. *Kadamba* is a large graceful deciduous tree of

rubiaceae family.

171. Bride's father's name.

172. Bride's name.

173-175. Bride's brothers' names.

176. Bridegroom's name.

177-178. Bridegroom's place's name.

179. The term *Samadhin* is used for bride's or groom's mother. In this case, if the song is being sung at bride's place, it will be addressed to groom's mother or aunt or the other way round.

180. *Samadhin's* husband's name.

181-191. Bride's or groom's place's name, depending where the song is being sung–if it is being sung at bride's place, it will be bride's place's name, and if it is being sung at groom's place, it will be groom's place's name.

192. The same thing is sung twice first for mother and then for aunt.

193. The Bhojpuri word *kenwa* is used for wild berry, also is a general term for anything to eat, that is sold by hawkers.

194. Here Ram stands for bridegroom.

195. This spool is placed on the bride's head to hold the pot of curds in place which she must wear while first entering her in-laws' house. This must be worn while she is walking to the family deity's room. On reaching the room it is taken off.

196. Names of dead and living ancestors.

GLOSSARY

Ānchal — The end of the *sari* which is worn over the shoulder or over the head.

Bārī — A socially low Hindu caste whose traditional occupation was to deliver message and to make leaf plates.

Barnet — A ritual in which the elder brother of the groom offers garments and ornaments to the bride.

Bhatwān — The day on which the *barat* or the marriage party of the groom starts for the bride's house. Traditionall only the male relatives and friends of the groom join the *barat*.

Chaukā — A square area painted with rice flour on the floor.

Chaukī — A low square-shaped wooden seat for the groom's father to sit on.

Chumāvana — The ritual of touching the groom with uncooked rice and *dub* grass and throwing them over his hea

Davanā — A fragrant, blossoming plant.

Ḍheriā — A dance in which women form two rows to the accompaniment of music.

Dhotī — An unsewn garment, usually white, worn by men from the waist down.

Dūb — A rapidly growing grass, which is used to symbolise fertility.

Dupaṭṭā — A piece of cloth about 3 metres long, which men put on their shoulders.

Gaurī Ganesh — A handful of cowdung pressed by hand into a cylindrical shape to symbolize Gauri (the wife Shiva) and Ganesh, her son the elephant-headed god who is the remover of all obstacles.

Imalī ghonṭanā — Literally 'smooth tamarind'. This meaning has nothing to do with the ritual itself. It is to say how this term originated.

Jājim — A large floor-covering similar to a bedspread.

Jhūmar — Songs which are sung to accompany a circle dance of women only.

Joga — Songs sung only at the bride's house.

Kalasha — A large earthen pot.

Kangan — A red thread tied on the wrists on auspicious occasions.

Kohbar — *Kohbar* is an altered form of Sanskrit '*Kautuka griha*'—'recreation room'. The *Kohbar* is a room s painted for the wedding in which the bride, groom and their close relatives amuse themselves.

Lagna chumāvana — The ceremony at the bride's house which marks the beginning of the marriage ceremony at place. This occurs after the *tilak* at the groom's place, which starts the marriage ceremony at his home.

Lagna-patrikā — The programme of marriage arranged and written by the groom's family priest and delivered to the bride's family on the day of *tilak.*

Mantra — Sacred text.

Maṇḍap — A decorated pavilion.

Maṭkoṛā — A ritual during the marriage festivities in which women go to dig for some earth on the outskirts of the village.

Mātripujā — 'Ancestor-worship'—a ceremony wherein the bride's or groom's parents pour *ghee* on the paintings which are drawn on a wall of the *kohbar.*

Nahachhu-nahān — '*Nahachhu*' literally 'nail cutting', Nahan is an altered form of *snān* which means 'bath'.

Pahar — A period of three hours.

Parichhan — To give blessings with uncooked rice, betel leaves and the application of a *tilak.*

Sahānā — Songs sung only at the groom's house.

Sāri — An unsewn women's apparel.

Seer — An old measurement, which is slightly less than a kilogram.

Sindur-dān — The application of vermilion powder to the parting of the married woman's hair.

Suhāg-denā — To give *suhāg. Suhāg* is the happy state of married life.

Tilak — An auspicious red mark applied on the forehead with right thumb.

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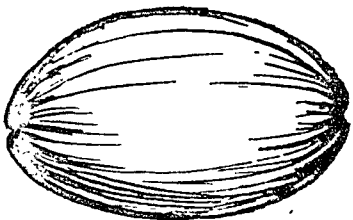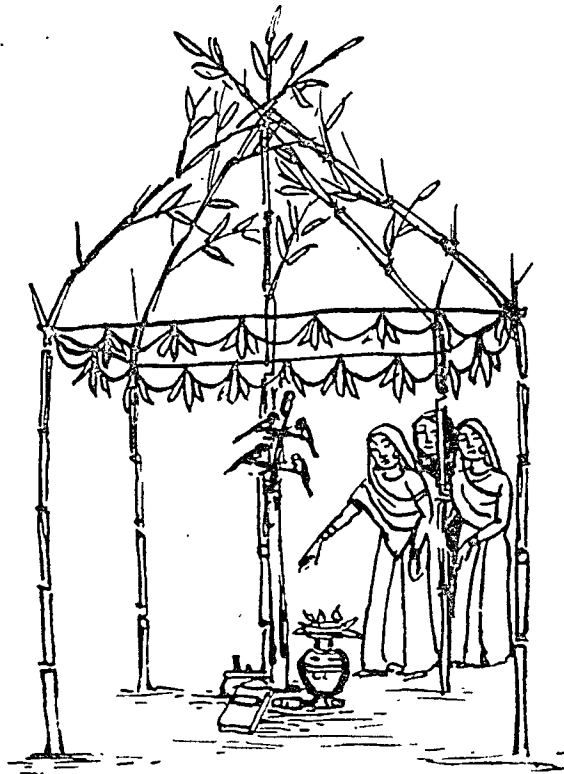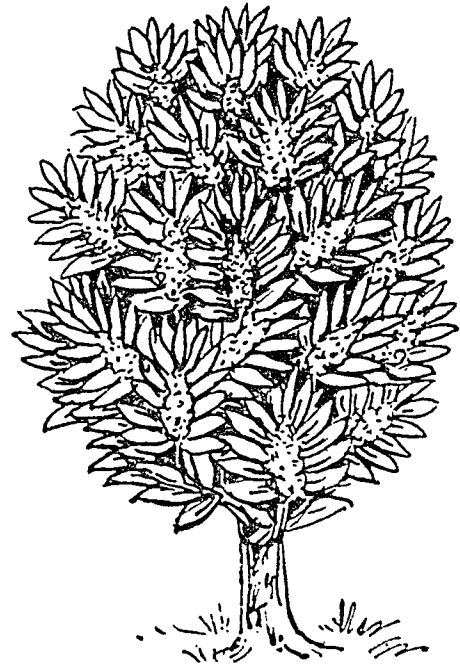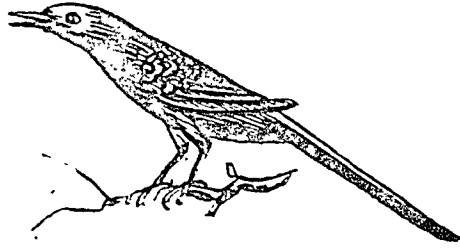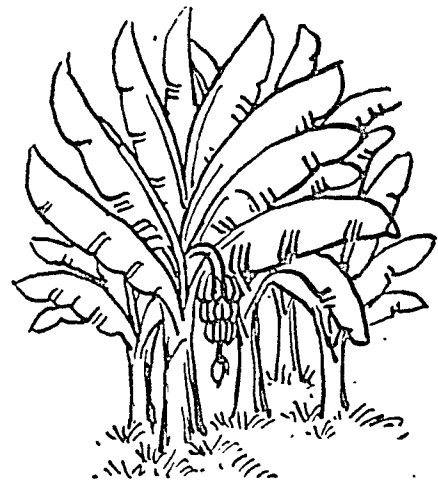
विवाह गीत

['मैरिज सोंग्ज़ फ्रॉम भोजपुरी रीजन' का हिन्दी भावानुवाद]

संकलन : डॉ० चंद्रमणि सिंह

हिन्दी भावानुवाद : जगदीश चतुर्वेदी

सामाजिक इतिहास के स्रोत

श्रीमती चन्द्रमणि सिंह के भोजपुरी विवाह-गीतों के संकलन में अभिशंसनीय बहुत कुछ है। लोक-गीतों का संग्रह, अध्ययन और प्रकाशन विरल हो चला है। किसी भी काल अथवा समाज के भारतीय लोक-गीतों में उस काल विशेष के सामाजिक इतिहास की रचना के लिये स्रोत-सामग्री का विपुल भण्डार निहित रहता है।

प्रस्तुत विवाह-गीत भोजपुरी बोली में जोड़े गये हैं, तथापि यह स्पष्ट है कि इन गीतों में सुदूर अतीत की परम्परायें, प्रथायें और आस्थायें मुखरित हो उठी हैं। विवाह समारोह के लिये देवी-देवताओं और प्रकृत तत्वों को देहधारी रूप में आमंत्रित करने की प्रथा की प्रतिध्वनि, प्रागैतिहासिक काल की थाती के रूप में, आदिम जातियों की वर्तमान परम्पराओं में आज भी विद्यमान है।

श्रीमती चन्द्रमणि सिंह समस्त लोक-कलानुरागियों की ओर से बधाई की पात्र हैं कि उन्होंने भोजपुरी विवाह-गीतों का संकलन प्रकाशित कर इन गीतों के माध्यम से भोजपुरी सामाजिक परम्पराओं, मान्यताओं— और कुरीतियों को भी —उजागर कर दिया है।

—डॉ० डी० एच० कोपर

सरस, सुन्दर, हृदय-द्रावक

भोजपुरी लोक-गीत बहुत ही सरस, सु
द्रावक हैं। अभी तक अंग्रेजी भाषा में इन
अनुवाद नहीं हुआ था। यह जानकर मुझे बड़ी
है कि डॉ० चन्द्रमणि सिंह ने इन गीतों का अं
कर इस अभाव की पूर्ति की है। मैंने इनके अनुव
जो बहुत सरल तथा सरस भाषा में किया गया
डॉ० सिंह भविष्य में भोजपुरी के अन्य गीतों
प्रस्तुत कर इसके संगीत पक्ष को भी प्रकाश
इस अनुवाद के लिये वे बधाई की पात्र हैं।

—कृष्णदेव

चम्पालाल राँका एण्ड कम्पनी

किताब महल, चौड़ा रास्ता

जयपुर–302003

फोन : 75241

यह भावानुवाद•

भोजपुरी भारत की एक आंचलिक बोली होते हुए भी अंत-र्राष्ट्रीयता का दावा प्रस्तुत करती है। भारत के अतिरिक्त नेपाल, मारीशस, फीजी, गायना आदि देशों में भी भोजपुरी-भाषियों की बहुलता है। भोजपुरी के इन गीतों में उस क्षेत्र की मिट्टी की गंध इसलिये अधिक है कि ये सीधे इन गीतों की गायिका-महिलाओं से बहिन चन्द्रमणि ने सुनकर, छुनकर संकलित किये हैं।

ये गीत इससे पहले कभी प्रकाश में नहीं आये—और जो गीत अब तक प्रकाश में आये हैं, वे पुरुषों द्वारा पुरुषों के ही माध्यम से संग्रहीत हुए गीत हैं, जिनमें इनकी गायिकाओं के साथ सम्पर्क की महिला-सुलभ सहज मृदुता का अभाव है।

लोक-गीत अपने क्षेत्र की समाज-रचना, धार्मिक विश्वास, रीति-रिवाजों और जीवन-प्रणालियों के मुँह बोलते दर्पण होते हैं। प्रस्तुत गीतों के माध्यम से भोजपुरी समाज का जो चित्र खचित हुआ है, उसमें पुरुष वीर और साहसी हैं, महिलायें लज्जा के साथ दृढ़ता की भी प्रतिमूर्ति हैं, जो अपने वातावरण के सामाजिक, राजनीतिक और आर्थिक परिवर्तनों के प्रति सतर्क हैं।

इन विवाह गीतों में पूरे विवाह-समारोह का एक सवाक चलचित्र है, जो समाज-शास्त्र, नृतत्व-शास्त्र एवं अन्य शास्त्रानुरागी दर्शकों के लिये 'अवसि देखिये, देखन जोगू' है।

• प्रस्तुत हिन्दी भावानुवाद श्रीमती चन्द्रमणि सिंह के ग्रन्थ 'मैरिज सोंग्ज फ्रॉम भोजपुरी रीजन' का पूरक प्रकाशन है।

विवाह गीत

१. **हेरले लगनिया के रा बेर**—दादा·······[1] ने एक चंदन चौकी गढ़वाई, जिसमें बीच-बीच में गजमुक्ता जड़े हैं। उस चौकी पर दूल्हा······· बैठा, लग्न-वेला की प्रतीक्षा कर रहा है।

२. **चुमावन**—लहलहाती दूब और साठी चावल लेकर हाली/जमींदार की पुत्री नवदम्पति को आशीष (चुमावन) देने चली। वह आशीष देती है कि दूल्हा-दुलहिन लाख वर्ष जियें।

३. **पराती : इहो तीनों तूं ही हव**—ब्रह्मा, विष्णु, महेश यह तीनों तुम्हीं हो। तीनों दम्पत्ति को आशीष दें कि वर-वधू लाख वर्ष जियें।

४. **पराती : जागहुना**—अभी-अभी सवेरा हुआ है, काली माँ, जागो! ब्रह्मा बाबा, जागो! सायर माता जागो! और सब भूले बिसरे देवी-देवता भी जागो! देव जब हल्दी के वृक्ष के नीचे खड़े होते हैं, तो हल्दी दीप्त हो उठती, पान के पेड़ तले खड़े होते हैं, तो पान लहलहा उठते हैं, और जब चंदन के वृक्ष के तले आते हैं, तो चंदन महमहा जाता है।

५. **दवना उपजले ए माई अनहोनी भाँति**—दुलहिन ने अपने हाथ में खुरपी और गडुआ भर पानी लिया और दवना का पौधा सींचने गई तो खुरपी टूट गई और पानी ढुल गया। किन्तु दवना 'अनहोनी भाँति' बढ़ गया। यह किसका घोड़ा है, जो फुलवारी के किनारे-किनारे चल कर फुलवारी रोंद गया? ये घोड़े ससुरा भसुरा के हैं, जो फुलवारी रोंद गये हैं। इस पर बेटी केश धुन-धुन कर रोने लगी—यह कौन बहिन का भाई है, जो फुलवारी रोंद गया? दूल्हा मुँह पर रूमाल लगा कर हँसते हुए बोला, दुलहिन हम नहीं जानते थे कि यह फुलवारी तुम्हारी है।

६. **पराती : फूलवाहीं छाइब नगर बनारस**—अरइल (प्रयाग के पास तीर्थ स्थल) घास से छाया है—विवाह की चौपाल कैसे छवाऊँ, नगर बनारस जहाँ देवताओं का वास है, कैसे छवाऊँ? अरइल घास से छाया, विवाह की चौपाल पान की बेल से छायी, देवताओं के वास बनारस पर फूल छवाये गये—कन्या·······अपने पिता की फुलवारी से फूल चुनने गई, दूल्हे

1. रिक्त स्थानों पर उपयुक्त नाम जोड़कर ये गीत गाये जाते हैं, ताकि सब लोग समान रूप से इन्हें प्रयोग में ला सकें।

ने भेंट होने पर आँचल थाम कर बिलमा लिया—अरे-अरे चौधरी पुत्र, मेरा आँचल, मेरी बाँह छोड़ दे ! मेरे पिता……सुनेंगे तो निंदा करेंगे, भइया सुनेंगे तो निंदा करेंगे। निंदा-निंदा मत करो, निंदा तो अब तुम्हारी होगी। सभा में बैठ कर तुम्हारे पिता ने तुम्हें हारा है, अब तुम हमारी दासी हो; पाँसा खेलते तुम्हारे भाई ने हारा है, अब तुम हमारी दासी हो !

७. न्यौता—ब्राह्मण को सिक्के देकर, नाई को सुपारी देकर हम ब्रह्मा बाबा, काली माई, सायर माई और सती माई के यहाँ न्यौता पठायेंगे कि हमारे यहाँ यज्ञ है। (देवतागण कहते हैं) न डोली डंडी दिख रही है, न कहार और पालकी पर पड़ा हरा परदा दिख पड़ रहा है, हम कैसे आयें ? बाबा (बेटी का पिता) बोलते हैं, डोली डंडी, कहार, सबजी सब भेज देंगे, हमारा न्यौता मान कर पधारिये।

८. छोटी मुटी अहिरिन बिटिया—अहीर कन्या दही लिये खड़ी है और दही लो, दही लो पुकारती है। कहती है……देवी, तुम्हारे यहाँ दही चाहिये। तेरे दही का बरतन किसका है, जामन किसका है ? मेरा बासन कपूर का बना है, अमृत का जामन है। दूल्हा……मेरा दही खायेंगे तो राजा रावल बन जायेंगे और……देवी मेरा दही खाकर अपने वर के योग्य बन जायेगी।

९. साँझा : न्यौता—झूरी (कुंज) में से पान निकला है, अब देश-देश में न्यौता पठाना होगा। गया से गजाधर और प्रयाग को निमंत्रित करूँगा और उन्हीं के समान देवी दुर्गा को भी न्यौता दूँगा। काशी में विश्वेश्वर और प्रयाग के देवों को न्यौता दूँगा, और पंच भाइयों को भी निमंत्रित करूँगा।

१०. शिवजी के दोसर बिआह—पुरइन (कमल) के पात पर सोई गौरी को एक अद्भुत स्वप्न दिखा कि मोरंग देश में बाजे बज रहे हैं। यह किसका विवाह है ? गौरी ने पड़ौसियों से कहा—तुम्हीं मेरी गोतिन (सखी) हो, इस स्वप्न पर विचार करो। गौरी, तुम स्वयं सयानी, पंडित-पुत्री हो। गौरी ने झरोखे से झाँका, तो देखा शिवजी चले आ रहे हैं। शिव कहते हैं, गौरी अब तुम पीली साड़ी पहन कर अपनी सौत की अगुवानी करो। महादेव, क्या हम चोरनी चटनी हैं, क्या हम कोख से बाँझ हैं महादेव, क्या हम सेवा से चूके हैं जो तुमने दूसरा विवाह किया है ? गौरी, तुम न चोरनी चटनी हो, न कोख से बाँझ, और न ही सेवा से चूकी हो, भावी ने ही दूसरा विवाह करा दिया है। महादेव, क्या यह हमारी देवरानी है, या हमारी पुत्र-वधू है ? किन्तु, जब पालकी उघाड़ कर गौरी ने देखा, तो बोली, यह तो हमारी बहिन गंगा है ! गंगा, क्या तुम्हारे लिये दूसरा वर न जुटा, जो तुम मेरी ही पीठ पर अंगार दलने आईं ? बहिन गौरी, अब तुम गोबर पीसना कर लेना, मन लगा कर रसोई बनाना और हमारे बच्चों को खिला लेना, किन्तु शिवजी की सेज पर मत जाना।

११. शिव : तपसी वर—किसने वर खोजा, किसने मुहूर्त शोधा और किसने वर के लिये पूछताछ की—यह वर तो तपस्वी, भिखारी है। नाई ने वर खोजा, ब्राह्मण ने दिन निकाला और भाई ने वर के सम्बन्ध में पूछताछ की। नाई के पूत मरें, ब्राह्मण की पोथी जले और भइयाजी का राज छोटा हो जाये, जिन्होंने निरभेदिया बन कर भेद बताया और वर तपस्वी, भिखारी निकला। कलश के पास से गौरी ने कहा, शिवजी हमारी प्रार्थना सुनिये, आप ऐसा वेष धारण करें जिससे नइहर के लोग पतियायें। नहा-धोकर शिव ने चंदन लगाया, आसन पर बैठे और कहा, अरे ससुराल वालो, अब हमारा रूप देखो ! नाई के पूत जियें, ब्राह्मण की पोथी और भइयाजी के राज बढ़ें जिन्होंने भेद बताया और वर राजकुमार निकला।

१२. गौरादेई—फूल चुनने के किये गौरी पिता … गई, नंदी पर चढ़े शिव ने दुहाई दी, यह किसकी बारी … किसके कहने से फुलवारी में आई है ? मैं अपने पिता की … भइया की दुलारी हूं, माँ के कहने से फुलवारी में आई हूं … डलिया तोड़ देंगे, फूल छितरा जावेंगे और तुम रीती हुई घर … चौंक कर गौरी की माँ सोते से जगी, यह कौन पगला है, … को रुलाया ? माँ, तुम मेरी बात न मानोगी, इसलिये … पूछ लो। माँ, एक युवा योगी था, जिसकी बड़ी-बड़ी जटायें थीं … ने गौरी को रुलाया है।

१३. शिवजी के बरात—मस्तक पर महादेव के … हैं, कंधे पर व्याघ्र चर्म है। सास जब उनकी अगुवानी के … गेंहुअन सर्प ने फुंफकार छोड़ी। अरे, अरे, सास ! तुम डर गईं … तो संभाल लो। किसका दीप है, किसकी बाती है और किस … रात जलता है ? दिया सोने का है, बाती रेशम की, और … उसमें सारी रात जलता है। दीपक जलो, रात के चारों … तक महादेव जुआ खेलें, जलते रहो। तेल जल गया, बाती … जंघा के सहारे बैठी गौरी अलसा गई। तुम्हारे निकट पिता … आती है, प्रभु की जंघा के सहारे ही अच्छी नींद … पिता का सहारा बेटी, चार दिन का है। प्रभु की बाँह का … भर रहेगा।

१४. गउरा नइहर चली भइली—महादेव पोथी पढ़ … ने कहा, सुनो महादेव हमारे पीहर में यज्ञ है, हम यज्ञ … महादेव मना करते हैं, बिना आदर के पीहर मत जाओ। … कहना न माना और पीहर चली गई। न माँ-बाप ने उन्हें … के अन्य लोगों ने। एक गंगा बहिन ने पहचाना; जो कि … थी—अरे ब्राह्मण, वेद पाठ कर, गौरी द्वार पर खड़ी है। … ने वेदोच्चार किया, गौरी अग्नि-कुण्ड में प्रवेश कर गई … पर चढ़ गये। महादेव, उतरो उतरो, फिर से विवाह करो। … गंगा जो है, फिर विवाह होगा।

१५. नीमिया के डाढ़ि मइया लवली। … ने नीम की डाल पर हिंडोला डाला है और झूल-झूल कर … झूलते-झूलते माता को प्यास लगी, वे मालिन के घर पहुंची। … हो कि जागती, एक बूंद पानी पिलाओ। शीतला माता, … पिलाऊँ, मेरी गोद में तुम्हारा बच्चा है। बालक को … सुला दो। हे माता, सोने का घड़ा है, चाँदी की प्याली है … पियो। सातों बहनो, (सप्त मातृकाओ) ठण्डा पानी पियो। … तुमने मेरे जी को ठंडा किया है, उसी तरह तेरी बेटी का … तेरी पतोहू का भी। माता, मेरी बेटी अपने ससुराल में है … पीहर में। मालिन तेरी बेटी अपने ससुराल में और … शान्ति पायेंगी।

१६. सीतल फुलवा लोढ़े जाली—माता, तुम्हारी … हैं, किसका अंकुश है और कौन से वेष में तुम फूल चुन … सोने की डलिया, चाँदी का अंकुश लिये माँ शीतला … फूल चुनती हैं। इस पार माँ फूल चुनती है और उस … नजरें चलाता है। राजा के बेटे, तुम मुझे घूर रहे रहे थे, … में आ जाऊँगी। हे माता, मालिन के वेष से धोखा खाकर … हैं, इसलिये इस बार मेरा गुनाह माफ कर दो।

६७. लावा ले के चलु—आज अवधपुरी में विवाह है, लावा लेकर चलो, सोने के सूप में लावा लेकर चलो। बरात लावा लिये खड़ी है, लावा लेकर चलो। भइया······लावा छिटकते हैं, तब तक बहिन अपनी है। पहला फेरा जब तुम्हारी बहिन ने लिया, लावा छिटको, बहिन तुम्हारी है। दूसरा फेरा तुम्हारी बहिन घूमी—लावा छिटको, अभी बहिन तुम्हारी है। तीसरा फेरा जब बहिन ने लिया—अँगूठा पकड़ लो दूल्हे······ यह तुम्हारी पत्नी होती है, चौथा फेरा लेते ही अब यह तुम्हारी पत्नी हो चुकी।

६८. सेनुरिया—सिंदूरिया कहाँ है, जो सिंदूर बेच रहा है, और वह कामी वर कहाँ का है जो सिंदूर खरीदता है ?······का सिंदूर विक्रेता है जो अच्छा सिंदूर बेचता है, और कामी वर······का है, जिसने सिंदूर खरीदा। पिता, पिता, कह कर पुकार मचाई, किन्तु पिता बोले ही नहीं, और उनकी ही बरजोरी से वर ने सिंदूर से मांग भर दी।

६९. मोहले-जग संसार—शुद्ध सोना कहाँ से मँगाया गया और गढ़ने वाले कहाँ के हैं ? आरा से शुद्ध सोना मँगाया गया और गढ़वइया पटना के बुलाये गये। इस सोने को पहन कर समधिन······वहू ऐंठ के साथ बाज़ार में निकली तो पोथी बाँचने वाले सब ब्राह्मण, तलवार चलाने वाले सब राजपूत, कलम घिसने वाले सब लाला, डंडी मारने वाले सब बनिये, गहने गढ़ने वाले सब सुनार, तरकारी बेचने वाले सब कुँजड़े, रुई धुनने वाले सब धुनिये, दही बेचने वाले सब अहीर, ढरकी चलाने वाले सारे जुलाहे, जूते बाँधने वाले सब चमार, सूप बिनने वाले सारे डोम,—ये सब के सब मोहित हो गये। बाबू मोहित हुए, भइया मोहित हुए और सारा जग-संसार ही मोहित हो गया। और तो और, छत पर बैठी चोंच बजाने वाली कौओं की जोड़ी भी मोहित हो गई।

७०. बेटी के बिदाई—सात दाँतों की कंघी से बेटी अपने भौंरे जैसे केश सँवार रही है, और केश गूँथते-गूँथते राम चले आये—चल बहू मेरे घर चल। स्वामी, मैं आपके घर कैसे जाऊँ, मुझे अपने पिता नहीं भूले हैं। सभा में बैठे हुए जब मेरे पिता को तुम देखोगी, तो तुम्हें अपने पिता भूल जायेंगे। मैं आपके घर कैसे जाऊँ स्वामी, मुझे अपनी माता नहीं बिसरी है। जब तुम माचे पर बैठी मेरी माँ को देखोगी, तो अपनी माँ को भूल जाओगी। कैसे मैं आपके घर जाऊँ स्वामी, मुझे मेरी बहिन नहीं बिसरती। जब तुम सूप से खेलती मेरी बहिन को देखोगी, तो अपनी बहिन भूल जाओगी। कैसे आपके घर जाऊँ स्वामी, मुझे भाई नहीं बिसरता। घोड़े पर चढ़े मेरे भाई को देखोगी, तो अपना भाई भूल जाओगी। कैसे आपके घर चलूँ स्वामी, मुझे अपनी भावज नहीं बिसरती। जब तुम रसोई घर में बैठी मेरी भावज को देखोगी, तो अपनी भावज को भूल जाओगी।

७१. दही-भात—सुन्दर-सुन्दर मुख है, बेटी तुम्हारा ललाट सँकरा है। दही-भात खा लो, न। यही खाने के लिये बेटी, अब तुम्हें पराई आस करनी पड़ेगी। इस दही-भात को माता, छीके पर रख दो। मैं जब बेर खरीद रही थी, तो तुम झल्ला कर बोली थीं।

७२. (क) जब हम जनतीं बहुअवा गोर अइहें हो—यदि हम जानतीं कि हमारी वहू आने वाली है, तो हम कच्चे बाँस की डालियाँ बुनवा लेतीं। हमारा पुत्र सोने जैसा है और पुत्र-वधू सलोनी है। यदि हम जानतीं कि वहू आने वाली है, तो कोरे बर्तन में दही जमातीं—सोने जैसा पूत, सलोनी पतोहू। यदि हम जानतीं कि वहू आने को है, तो कोरे सूत की पोली कतवातीं। सोने जैसा पूत है, सलोनी पतोहू है।

(ख) आपके भाग्य धन्य हैं······! आपके यहाँ नाती और नाती की पत्नी आये। इस वहू के पैर सुलक्षण हैं, इस वहू के।